BILL CLINTON: Battling for the Soul of the 21st Century

Special Issue

THE NEW DEMOCRAT

BLUEPRINT

IDEAS FOR A NEW CENTURY

NEW WORLD NEW WAR

JOE LIEBERMAN ▸ EVAN BAYH ▸ JOHN F. KERRY
JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN ▸ ELLEN TAUSCHER
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Direct Lineage

"I never saw [Hitler] so beside himself as he was near the end of the war when he worked himself … into a delirium over his vision of the downfall of New York in a firestorm. He described skyscrapers being transformed into giant flaming torches, then crashing down into one another, with the imploded city reflected in the night sky. He told [us] to speed up development of a long-range bomber…to take one-thousand-fold revenge on America for the destruction of our cities."

—ALBERT SPEER, *1947 prison diaries*

"With God's help, we call on every Muslim who wishes to be rewarded to comply with God's order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it."

"The terrorism we practice is of the commendable kind for it is directed at the tyrants and the aggressors and the enemies of God."

—OSAMA BIN LADEN, *fatwa and interview*

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BLUEPRINT

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The chilling words on the opposite page put today's new terrorism into depressing historical perspective. One almost wonders if Osama bin Laden read of Hitler's ravings in the memoirs of Albert Speer, the Third Reich architect and armaments minister. It takes one's breath away to consider the direct lineage of the thought, from one mass murderer's fantasy to another's deed. It tells us much about the politics of a would-be leader who turns skyscrapers into "giant flaming torches" without regard for life or civilization. Megalomaniacs think alike.

Are we now dealing with a Hitlerian enemy? In some ways, yes. Bin Laden's dream may not include world conquest and a master race. But it does have global reach, it is insidious and merciless, and it does involve a draconian ethnic and religious intolerance. It is anti-Semitic and anti-American. It chiefly targets a system of values. And, as in World War II, it demands a full-mobilization response from the United States.

Seeing Hitler's diabolical dream become al-Qaida's reality also raises questions of warnings given and lessons learned. Why are humans reluctant to believe that horrible things can happen to them? The scientific community, and parts of the political community, have known for years that bioterrorism could someday arrive on American soil. In the Winter 2000 issue of BLUEPRINT, for example, bioweapons expert Zachary Selden wrote, "... The question is when, not if, the United States will suffer a chemical or biological attack." In that same issue, defense analyst Keith Bickel presciently foresaw the anxiety and uncertainty that gripped the nation after Sept. 11: "... We do not know what the [new type of warfare] will look like; our potential adversaries can be countries (North Korea) or terrorists (Hamas) or an eccentric billionaire with a messianic mission (Osama bin Laden). In short, we live in uncertainty."

Likewise, former U.S. Sen. Sam Nunn wrote that we must now be concerned about "weapons of *mass disruption.*" On Sept. 11, they arrived.

Now we know what we need to do, but not exactly how to do it. This issue of BLUEPRINT offers guidelines for adjusting to our new world and fighting our new war. Progressive Policy Institute President Will Marshall argues, for example, that the United States should demand from "moderate" governments in the Muslim world an unambiguous stand against the Islamic chauvinism that inspires terrorism. Sen. Joe Lieberman notes that we are fighting not only for our security, but to protect America's tolerant ideals. Former President Bill Clinton reminds us that even as we prosecute war against our enemies, we must "do more to reduce the pool of future terrorists" by fighting world poverty and raising economic empowerment. And Khidhir Hamza, formerly Saddam Hussein's chief nuclear bomb maker, now a U.S. defector, explains why Iraq is a likely source of the new terrorism.

Hitler practically invented modern terrorism with the V-1 and V-2 attacks on London. It was war in a new dimension, and it was defeated. Bin Laden and his henchmen have carried terror to a new dimension again, and again we must defeat it. Our writers show some of the ways to accomplish that mission.

—Peter Ross Range

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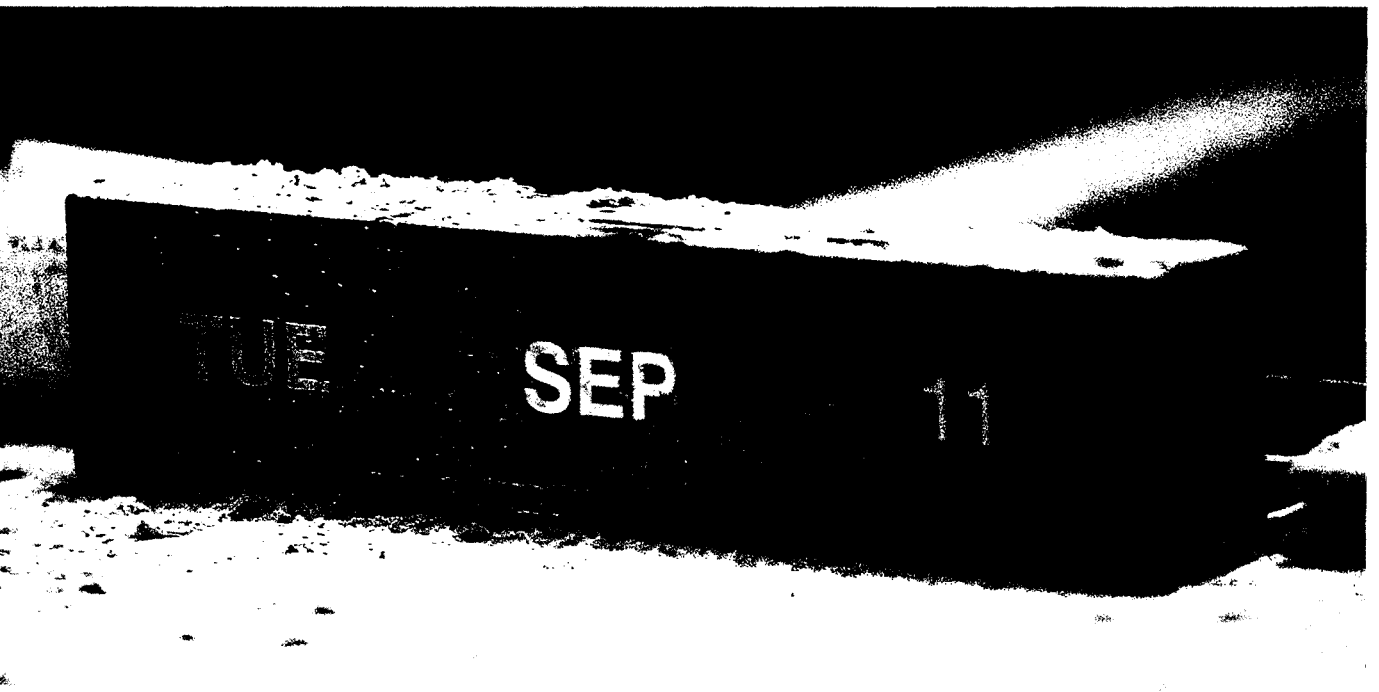

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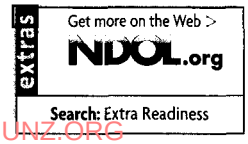

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New Politics for a New World

Our challenge is to vanquish terrorism, help the economy grow, and ask all Americans to give something back to their country.

by **The Editors**

Of all the changes wrought by the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, the change in our political climate is among the most striking. Before Sept. 11, the nation's political leaders were hunkering down for a "war" over the federal budget. Then the real thing came along.

What we need now is a new politics of national purpose based on the country's real challenges, not on petty or partisan differences.

The old politics that put special interests ahead of the national interest make even less sense today than before. Our politics must rise above partisan calculations to answer the moral challenge facing the country.

The new war and the new world it reflects mean that now more than ever, it is time to put first things first: keeping Americans safe, helping the economy grow, and asking every citizen to give something back to the country.

Our first priority today is to fight and win the war against terrorism and to make America safe again. This issue of BLUEPRINT explains why and how this task will require a very different U.S. military and intelligence capacity, as well as a very different understanding of threats to our security. We will also need to take a new view of our alliances and our diplomacy and adopt an aggressive approach to national defense on the home front.

As former President Bill Clinton warns in his BLUEPRINT article, we are engaged not only in the first war of the new millennium, but in the first battle for the "soul" of the 21st century — one that will determine its ultimate direction for good or for ill.

Winning the war against terrorism abroad involves more than destroying the al-Qaida network and the Taliban regime that has protected it. It also means, as Sen. Joe Lieberman argues, that the war will not be over until we have neutralized other terrorist threats with global reach, including the mother of all state-sponsored terrorism, Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

Winning the war against terrorism at home means an intensive national effort to harden our defenses at home — in the skies, on the borders, among the law enforcement and public health personnel on the front lines of the battle. Speed is essential, and no expense should be spared. We cut violent crime by half in many of our major cities during the 1990s. We can and must go the extra mile to preserve public safety against this new threat from abroad.

The second priority is to make our economy strong again. The remarkable performance of the U.S. economy in the 1990s was central to U.S. world leadership during the same period. The terrorists have shaken a U.S. economy already on the brink of recession and hurt Europe, Japan, Latin America, and most of Asia, where growth was already flat or negative. The United States must lead the way back to the virtuous growth spiral of the last decade.

The main problem with our economy prior to Sept. 11 was not its fundamentals; it was a collapse of confidence among investors and, increasingly, among consumers. The terrorist attacks made both problems far worse. But the economy will respond positively if we do what our new circumstances require in any case: *re-arm* to fight and win the war on terrorism; *recover* from the physical and economic impact of the terrorist attacks; and *reassure* Americans of their safety and security.

We must also restore confidence in our nation's long-term economic policies. From the experience of the last eight years, we already know the formula for long-term growth: fiscal discipline; expanded trade; deregulation and support for innovation; and investments in the productivity of the American people, especially education and training. Now

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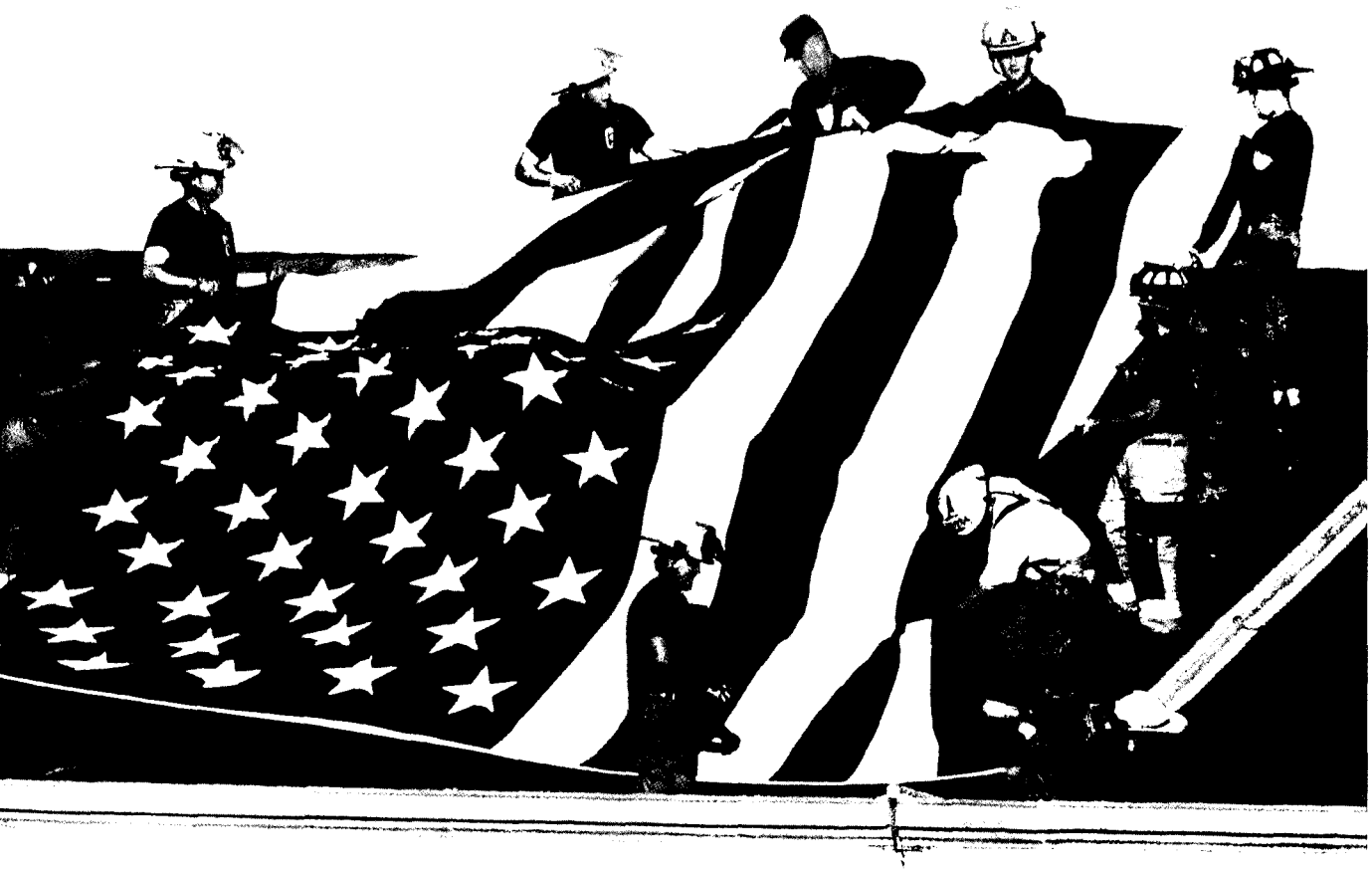
A CHANCE TO SERVE: Images of rescue workers raising the flag amid the ruins of the Pentagon, shown here, and the World Trade Center stirred a sense of patriotism and civic obligation in millions of Americans. The challenge now is to harness those feelings and give all citizens the chance to give something back to their country.



that deficits loom where budget surpluses once reigned, fiscal discipline is critical. But it's also difficult, which explains why long-term interest rates have stayed high despite the Federal Reserve Board's repeated cuts in short-term interest rates.

It's clearly time to scale back, or repeal, the huge tax cuts on top incomes and the abolition of estate taxes that Congress enacted earlier this year when the primary rationale was to dispose of spiraling federal budget surpluses. These cuts contribute nothing to the short-term revival of the economy, but do much to undermine long-term confidence in fiscal discipline. Forgoing another tax cut is the least we can ask of the wealthiest Americans in a time of war.

Expanded trade is also essential, not only to spur America's economic growth but to bring prosperity to the parts of the world, including the Middle East, where unemployment and economic despair feed terrorism.

The third priority is to challenge all Americans to give something back to their country. The old politics asked too little of citizens and promised too much. Since Sept. 11, Americans have shown the world what we stand for and what we are made of. Every American has a role to play in making America stronger. Sens. Evan Bayh and John McCain are offering legislation to expand both civilian and military options for national service. We should go further and find a way to give all Americans the chance to serve. A system of universal, voluntary national service would make duty to country a rite of passage for young Americans and give every generation the chance to be America's greatest.

In the red glare of the current struggle between good and evil, no one can doubt America's purpose in the world. We must be a nation of great purpose here at home as well. Each of us has a duty to live up to these great responsibilities: to unite behind the national interest and leave behind the politics of self-interest; to show the world a culture we're proud of; to honor the values of duty, faith, family, and country; to come together as a community and conquer hate; and to be at once the most diverse and most united nation on earth.

Every day, our people are exhibiting virtues our enemies clearly thought we had lost: the fortitude of Valley Forge; the courage of Normandy Beach; and the compassion of the Marshall Plan.

It's time to create a politics worthy of this people. ●

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America's New Mission

Fighting terror isn't enough. We must spread the benefits of economic and political freedom to the world's zones of turmoil. || *by* **Will Marshall**

It's been only 12 years since the Soviet Union collapsed, a third wave of democracy broke over the world, and pundits saw in the triumph of liberal ideas the "end of history." On Sept. 11, history returned with a vengeance and handed America a new assignment: stopping a global reign of terror.

The United States has no choice but to wage total war on terror; self-defense and self-respect demand it. But the moment demands something more: the vigorous exercise of American power to buttress the global community of liberal democracies and to extend the fruits of modernity — economic opportunity, individual freedom, respect for human rights — to the world's breeding grounds of discontent and terror.

During the 1990s, as public interest in world affairs reached an ebb, foreign policy experts who agreed on little else had no trouble identifying the main threats to the "new world order." Four dangers kept cropping up, like new horsemen of the apocalypse: rogue or failed states that don't play by civilized rules of behavior; state-sponsored terrorism with increasingly global reach; the spread of mass destruction weapons (nuclear, chemical, and biological); and the flare-up of ethnic and communal violence from the Balkans to Rwanda and Chiapas to Kashmir.

All of these threats manifested themselves on Sept. 11. The massacre was likely conceived in a rogue state (Afghanistan); it involved a global network of terrorists spread out over as many as 60 countries; it revealed their interest in using crop-dusters to spray U.S. cities with biological toxins; and it grew out of Osama bin Laden's hateful call for a holy war between Muslims and "infidels."

What's needed now is not just a war on terror, but a broad struggle against all of these forces of global disintegration and disorder. It will be a new kind of war against a new kind of enemy. Instead of clashing armies, it will feature surgical strikes on tiny terrorist cells and suspected weapons labs. Instead of a stable front, we will fight on a constantly shifting "battlefield" that could be anywhere in the world — even in our own communities. Success will be measured not in body counts and ground gained, but in networks penetrated, communications intercepted, bank transfers blocked, and secret

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SYMBOLIC TARGETS: America's economic power is a pillar of the new world order, a point underscored by the terrorists' decision to target the World Trade Center. The simultaneous attack on the Pentagon reflected the terrorists' recognition of our military's preeminent role in maintaining world peace.

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weapons programs uncovered and stopped. It will be a war in which intelligence and surveillance, deft multilateral diplomacy, and heightened vigilance on the home front will matter as much as military prowess.

At stake is the new pattern of international relations that has succeeded the bipolar world of the Cold War. Instead of ideological divides, the new global system is characterized by growing integration — economic, political, and cultural. For all its flaws and disparities of power, the global age has been propelled mainly by technology and freedom — free markets, the free movement of capital and people, and, increasingly, the freedom of people around the world to choose how they are governed. Although demonized in some quarters as economic and cultural imperialism, global integration in fact stems from the voluntary exchange of ideas, culture, goods, and services. No country is forced to accept foreign investment; no foreign citizen is compelled to browse the Internet, eat fast food, or watch formula flicks from Hollywood or Hong Kong.

In a cruel irony, transnational terrorism appropriates the modern ways and means of globalization to launch its barbaric assaults on modernity. Terror groups like al-Qaida constitute a virtual community bound together by mutual hatreds and organized in networks: diffuse, decentralized, broken into small nodes. They circulate amid the tidal flows of people and money across national borders, planting "sleeper" agents in the United States and Europe and financing their plots with laundered cash. Like an extremely malignant computer virus, they aim at crashing the "open architecture" systems of democratic societies.

U.S. economic and military power undergirds the new global system, a point underscored by the terrorists' choice of the World Trade Center and Pentagon as targets. Our challenge now is to rise to its defense in two ways: first, by taking the fight to our enemies; and, second, by spreading the benefits of economic and political freedom to the world's zones of turmoil.

Taking the offensive. *The art of war is simple enough: Find out where your enemy is, get at him as soon as you can, strike him as hard as you can, as often as you can, and keep moving on.* — Ulysses S. Grant

In this new war, the toughest challenge is finding the enemy. For this we need dramatically improved intelligence, which will require a sweeping overhaul of our Cold War spy agencies, and repeal of archaic laws that prevent them from cooperating with each other and with the FBI and domestic law enforcement organizations. This is no time for bureaucratic turf fights or crippling restrictions on spying that are based on past excesses rather than a clear-eyed assessment of the present danger.

Once terrorists have been found, our government's clear duty is to strike at them before they can strike at us. Unlike our enemies, however, we must take pains to punish the guilty without harming the innocent. Such rules of engagement will increase the likelihood of American casualties, since they imply more reliance on ground forces that can ferret out enemies hidden among civilian populations. But if we deviate from them we will forfeit the enormous moral advantage we take into this war.

In addition to quashing terror networks, the United States and its coalition partners must dramatically raise the costs to states that harbor terrorists or that routinely employ terror as an instrument of policy. It's no longer enough to put them on the State Department's blacklist, issue travel warnings, or impose halfhearted sanctions. In extreme cases, such as Afghanistan, we have no choice but to topple a regime that protects a "guest" who openly boasts of his intent to terrorize and kill Americans. Any other outcome would make a mockery of President Bush's solemn vow to wage war not only on terrorists but also on states that support them.

But it's also time to ratchet up the pressure on Syria, Iran, Sudan, and other regimes known to sanction terrorism. Options include withdrawal of aid and diplomatic recognition, economic embargoes, expulsion from the United Nations and other international bodies, political and military support for insurgents, and preemptive strikes to stop terrorism or weapons proliferation.

The United States should also orchestrate a more serious crackdown on rogue states that are hard to deter with conventional means. In Iraq, for example, a ruinous war, sanctions, and a decade of continuous enforcement of the "no-fly" zone have done little to alter Saddam Hussein's sociopathic behavior. Since there's every reason to believe that Iraq is continuing its quest for biological and nuclear weapons, it's time for sterner measures. The United States should step up aid to rebels fighting to create an independent Kurdistan in the north, and explore the possibility of a Shia state in the south as well. The idea of partition is anathema to diplomats who fear creating regional "power vacuums," but its risks must be weighed against the incalculable danger of allowing Saddam to concentrate on acquiring weapons of mass destruction.

Finally, the United States should demand that so-called "moderate" governments in the Muslim world take an unambiguous stand not only against terrorism but also against the Islamic chauvinism that inspires it. For too long, these regimes have played a double game, cracking down viciously on Islamic extremists at home while fanning anti-Israel and anti-American prejudices to deflect attention from their own abysmal failure to modernize and open their economies, convert oil wealth into a wider prosperity, protect basic human rights, eliminate official corruption and nepotism, and otherwise meet the most basic aspirations of their citizens. The United States can no longer afford to engage in business as usual with regimes that inflame their people against us.

In this war, Islam's reputation is on the line. Since ter-

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CHRONOLOGY OF TERRORISM

The United States has been in the cross hairs of radical Arab terrorists since the early 1980s. In the following pages, Blueprint recaps major mileposts in the two-decade-long *jihad* against America.

Beirut, Lebanon **April 18** ◄◄

Chronology of TERRORISM

Suicide truck bomb attack against the U.S. Embassy kills 17 Americans. The terrorist group Moslem Holy War claims responsibility.

rorists have defined it as a creed of fanatical hatred and bigotry, it is up to Muslim political and religious leaders to show the moral courage to belie not only self-appointed holy warriors but also their chanting sympathizers in the streets.

Building a safer world. As our forces hunt down terrorists in Afghanistan, it's time to craft a long-term strategy for ultimate victory in the war against the new forces of global disorder. Victory will entail not only the *destruction* of terror groups, but the *construction* of a global system that progressively expands the benefits of economic and political freedom to regions now mired in oppression, ethnic strife, and poverty.

Today's leaders need to think on a scale similar to the visionary Americans who, after World War II, designed a new global architecture of collective security and mutual prosperity. For example, the United States needs to organize swiftly a coherent system of homeland defense from numerous federal agencies and countless local public health and safety departments. In addition, it's past time to transform our Cold War military from a force geared for attrition warfare against other nation-states to a more mobile, agile, and integrated force better suited to combat terror networks, stop ethnic conflicts, and bring order to failed states that succumb to chaos.

The Sept. 11 attack could also be a turning point for NATO, still a great strategic asset but an alliance whose raison d'etre has grown murkier since the Soviet Union unraveled. The question now is whether the allies can muster the imagination and unity to speed NATO's evolution from a purely defensive alliance to one capable of confronting the new threats to our common security — terrorism, rogue states, and proliferation. That would be a worthy mission for NATO in the 21st century, but adopting it will require breaking the taboos both on offensive action and on operations outside of Europe.

The attack on America has created some startling opportunities to realign global politics. The most dramatic case in point is Russia, which has pivoted sharply from its previous anti-Western tack to a firm embrace of America's war on terror. President Putin has even relented in his opposition to NATO expansion, raising the possibility of a rapprochement between Russia and the West that could tip the scales of global power toward the growing community of market democracies.

Ultimately, the challenge facing the United States and the liberal democracies is to drain the global swamp; that is, to change the climate of harsh repression, stunted prospects, endemic poverty, and hopelessness in which hatred of America and modernity festers. In addition to waging war on terrorism, we need a long-range strategy that aligns the United States with the aspirations of ordinary people in the Muslim countries who are struggling for a better life.

The two great developments of the post-Cold War era — the spread of markets and economic integration and the growth of democracy — have largely bypassed the Muslim world. In fact, they suffer not from globalization but from its absence: Their economies are among the most stagnant and isolated in the world. Freedom House, which conducts a yearly study of the progress of political liberalization and democracy in the world, lists not one Muslim country as "free" and only a handful as "partly free." Most are ruled by strongmen and hereditary monarchs.

The United States and its anti-terror partners should press these countries to open their economies and integrate into the dynamic global marketplace, and we should put human rights and dignity at the center of our diplomatic relations with the Muslim world.

As an alternative to radical Islam's message of apocalyptic rage, we and our allies should speak out against the mistreatment of dissidents, press for more equal treatment of women, and offer strong support for local human rights organizations, a free press, and other independent institutions of civil society. This effort should be backed by aggressive public diplomacy aimed at getting our message across to ordinary Muslims who otherwise will hear only Islamic extremists and propaganda from tightly controlled state media.

It won't be easy for America to prevail in the battle for the hearts and minds of people throughout the Muslim world. But we should have confidence that our ultimate weapons — freedom and prosperity — will prevail over hatred and terror. ◆

Will Marshall is president of the Progressive Policy Institute.

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The Struggle for The Soul of the 21st Century

Global interdependence is the truly dominant factor of our time. Our challenge is to make it a force for good, not evil. *by* **Bill Clinton**

We are engaged in the first great struggle for the soul of the 21st century. Osama bin Laden and the Taliban have one set of answers. America and all the nations rallying to our side have another. To prevail, we need to understand terrorism in the context of the modern world and do everything we can not only to prevent terrorism and protect ourselves, but to undermine the conditions and attitudes that bring foot soldiers and sympathizers to the terrorists' banner.

The fundamental fact of the 21st century is global interdependence. It is the single factor that runs through all the other forces that are shaping our lives and our time. We live in an interdependent world where distances have collapsed, walls have fallen, and information has become pervasive. The horrible events of Sept. 11 were the dark side of global interdependence.

They could only have happened in a world without walls. Global interdependence has brought great bounty to Americans, but it has also created vast new opportunities for the forces of destruction to come into our lives.

What will be the dominant factor of the 21st century? Even before

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E PLURIBUS UNUM: The growth of diversity in America, typified by this mass naturalization ceremony at the Orange Bowl, is one of the positive defining features of the new century. It is part of a broader pattern of global interdependence that has brought the people of the world closer together, both for good and for ill.

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Sept. 11, at least eight forces had emerged that might be called dominant. Four of them are positive, four negative.

Globalization. Clearly, optimists would say that globalization was the defining factor of the 20th century and will continue to dominate the 21st. After all, during my time in the presidency, the global economy accounted for 22.5 million new American jobs and the lowest unemployment rates our country has known in decades. It lifted more people out of poverty in 20 years than were lifted throughout the rest of human history.

Information Age. Others would cite the Internet and the explosive growth of information technology as the dominant new factor. In 1993, there were only 50 sites on the World Wide Web. By 2001, there were 350 million. Today the Internet handles 30 times more messages every day than the postal service does, a nearly unimaginable communications leap.

Democracy and diversity. Politically minded people would argue that the defining feature of our time is the spread of democracy and the growth of diversity within democracies. At the beginning of this new century, more people lived under governments of their own choosing than ever before in human history. America had become more diverse than ever, and richer for it. The very diversity of the people who lost their lives in the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks is testimony to that.

> "The **great question** of the 21st century is whether global interdependence will be a good thing. Can we **expand** the forces and **reach** of positive interdependence and shrink the impact of negative interdependence? **If so, how?**"

Science. Still others might say the crucial factor about our new century is scientific advance. The sequencing of the human genome has opened new vistas for health, medical care, and longevity. We will soon be able to generate genetic profiles of young babies before they even leave the maternity wards. Scientists are working on chips to replicate spinal nerves that may someday enable people with damaged spines to get up out of their wheelchairs and walk again. Physicists will soon understand the black holes in space. Other scientists are finding new forms of life in our deepest oceans.

Any one of those great developments could be labeled the dominant factor in the new century.

But there are negatives, too.

Environment. One of those is the fragility of our environment. Some say that environmental challenges will dominate the next 50 years and swamp all the positive developments. These include climate change, the water shortage, and the deterioration of the oceans. Nine of the hottest 11 years recorded since 1400 occurred in the last decade. If this trend continues, the Florida Everglades, several Pacific island nations, and 50 feet of Manhattan Island will disappear.

Health. Another problem, even before the anthrax attacks, was our public health crisis. Health systems are breaking down all over the world. Epidemics threaten the planet, beginning with AIDS. Today there are 36 million AIDS cases in the world; 22 million people have died already. There could be 100 million AIDS cases in the next four years. The countries with the fastest-growing infection rates are no longer in Africa, but in the former Soviet Union and in the Caribbean Basin. India and China are close behind.

Poverty. Some pessimists might even call globalization itself the most negative feature of our new century. Americans may be getting rich, but half of the world's population still lives on less than $2 per day. One billion live on less than $1 per day. And since it is predicted that the world's population will grow by 50 percent in the next five decades, mostly in the countries least able to handle it, we can predict that poverty may create a breeding ground for terrorists who prey on the dispossessed.

The new terror. There's yet another negative factor that one could cite as a defining feature of our time: the marriage of terrorism by weapons of mass destruction with the explosion of ancient racial, religious, and tribal hatreds. Seven hundred thousand people, all of them innocent, were killed in Rwanda by machete in only three months. Bosnia, a country of 6 million people, lost 250,000 to ethnic cleansing. In Kosovo, 1 million refugees were created overnight.

Finding the common denominator. Any one of these eight factors might be considered dominant today. The four positive ones are the global economy; the explosion of information technology; the advance of democracy and diversity; and the advances in science and medicine. The four negative ones are environmental crises; health crises; poverty; and the growth of terrorism based on ancient hatreds.

But, clearly, the single factor that all these things have in common is global interdependence. That's what makes it the truly dominant factor of our time. All the others are in fact manifestations of a breathtaking increase in global interdependence.

So the great question of the 21st century is whether global interdependence will be a good thing. Can we expand the forces and reach of positive interdependence and shrink the impact of negative interdependence? If so, how?

First, there is a war to fight. We must defend ourselves against the present terrorist threat and support the president and others who are leading the nation. President Bush has

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Beirut, Lebanon **October 23 ◄◄**

Chronology of TERRORISM

Suicide truck bomb attack against the U.S. Marine barracks kills 241 U.S. servicemen. Islamic Jihad Organization claims responsibility.

handled the crisis extremely well and deserves the full support of all of us, regardless of political party. It's important that we stay united behind him in the war effort and the search for terrorism.

It may give some comfort to Americans to know that during the 1990s, our government was able to track and thwart terrorists many times. We were able to foil planned attacks on the Holland Tunnel, on airplanes flying from Los Angeles to the Philippines, and on Pope John Paul II. During the millennium celebration, a dozen planned terrorist attacks were thwarted.

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In the wake of Sept. 11, we have to harden our defenses. We must do a better job of using modern technology to track people who mean us harm.

Second, while crushing today's terrorists, we must also think about tomorrow's. We must do more to reduce the potential pool of future terrorists. This is manifestly *not* about blaming America; I don't belong to that crowd. But it *is* about knowing our enemy, understanding the threats, and acting according to our interests and values. In many of the countries where terrorists recruit, the kids never go to school. They are indoctrinated, not educated. They know no jobs will be available when they come of age. America must continue to work to reduce global poverty and increase economic empowerment. We should support debt relief, economic development, micro-enterprise loans, and international education and health care programs. We can reduce the pool of potential terrorists by showing people that we will not deny them the basic opportunities we claim for ourselves.

Third, we must continue to promote democracy throughout the world. The most fertile recruitment grounds for terrorists in the world occur in countries that are not democracies. When people cannot exercise any responsibility for themselves, they are kept in a state of permanent collective immaturity. It is easy to convince them that our success is the cause of their problems.

In the Middle East, it's no accident that perhaps the most stable country is not the richest. Jordan's late King Hussein recognized several years ago that if he wished to preserve the monarchy as a relevant institution in modern times, he had to give the people of Jordan greater say over their own lives. Jordan began to have real elections where real parties could run, including militant Islamic fundamentalists who could get elected to parliament. This meant that people of highly divergent political views had to learn to reconcile their differences in a parliamentary setting to get things done so that the country could go forward. This was an important step. If frustrated people have no outlet for their fury at home *and* never have to take any responsibility for themselves, they never develop an awareness of how to solve their own problems, get the help they may well deserve, and make the most of it when it comes.

Finally, we have to continue our efforts to show people all over the world that America is not the enemy of any faith or any people. The last time the United States used military power was to protect the lives of poor Muslims in Bosnia and Kosovo. We led the world in the campaign for debt forgiveness. We have stood for a fair and a just peace in the Middle East, one which would have given the Palestinians their state, their equities in their religious sites, and a chance to make an economically successful partnership with the Israelis. America is not the enemy of the poor or of Islam in the Middle East or anywhere else in the world.

Bin Laden and his allies think we are a feeble, greedy, selfish, materialistic people, weakened by our lack of a national religion and imposed social order. Americans have proved them wrong in every conceivable way.

In fact, the way Americans of every faith and national

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origin came together in mutual support after the terrorist attacks proves that we're still getting it right in America. The people who gathered outside the crisis center in lower Manhattan, holding up pictures of their missing loved ones, were from every corner of the earth — they included Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Japanese, Chinese, British, Germans, Mexicans, Chileans, and others. Together, they were a stunning rebuke to the terrorists' world-view.

I especially applaud President Bush for his visits to mosques and Islamic groups and his call for Americans to reach out to people who don't look like ourselves and to protect those who might come under attack just because they wear a turban or practice a certain religion.

When I visited the site of the World Trade Center and the armory crisis center in New York, I met a man whose story touched me deeply. He was a huge man, a head taller than me, and he was standing there with big tears in his eyes. "Have you lost a family member?" I asked.

"No, not in my family," he said. "I am an Egyptian Muslim-American. Believe it or not, I probably hate what happened more than you do. And I am so afraid that my fellow Americans will never trust me again."

That, of course, is just what the terrorists want. We must not give it to them.

This great struggle is about more than what we do. It's about who we are, who they are, and what the 21st century is going to be about. We have radically different views about the nature of truth, the value of life, and the content of community.

In America, we believe we all do better when we work together. We believe everybody counts, everybody has a role to play, everybody deserves a chance, and no one has the whole truth. Our enemies believe a community is made up of people who are all the same, who have the same religion and practice it the same way, and whose beliefs are enforced by rigorous authority.

This doesn't mean that we are without problems. We still have hate crimes. We're still vulnerable to the things that we deplore. But our community has created a lot of good and given a lot of people everywhere a chance to live their dreams. Meanwhile, our enemies' kind of community has created 4.5 million refugees in the world. People are voting with their feet.

The ultimate lesson for the interdependent world is that we can no longer deny to others what we claim for ourselves. It is not enough to stop bad things from happening. In the end, we must fulfill America's eternal mission to the world — to widen the circle of opportunity, deepen the meaning of freedom, strengthen the bonds of community, and build a better, richer, more peaceful world. ●

> **Bill Clinton** was the 42nd president of the United States and is a former chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council.

How to Fight a Just War

America has a moral duty to respond with restraint to terrorists who know no limits.

by **Jean Bethke Elshtain**

When the United States and its allies began striking back at terrorists and their protectors in Afghanistan in October, military and political leaders were at great pains to minimize harm to civilians. This policy of restraint was deemed essential to sustaining support, at home and abroad, for a protracted war on terror. It is grounded in the centuries-old "just war" tradition.

The origins of the just war tradition are usually traced back to the fourth century and St. Augustine's masterwork, *City of God*. St. Augustine grapples with the undeniable anti-violent thrust of the Christian tradition, especially the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth. He comes to the conclusion that wars of aggression and self-aggrandizement — like Rome's imperial wars — are *never* acceptable. But there are occasions when violence may be necessary. Violence is never a normative good. It is better for an individual who professes Christianity to suffer harm than to commit it. But public officials are charged with protecting the safety of a people: The shepherd must tend the flock. For St. Augustine, the most potent *casus belli* is protecting the innocent from certain harm — the innocent being those who are unable to defend themselves.

Yet even as just war permits limited resort to arms, it also challenges the anything-goes approach to violence. A primary rule for those committed to just war is noncombatant immunity. This means noncombatants must never be the intended target of violence. A further implication is that knowing, explicit acts of violence against noncombatants are an injury — an act of war — that, on the grounds of justice, demand a response.

But how does one respond justly to injustice? How does one craft a response that does not commit a crime in responding to a crime? You may have a just cause — and one part of just war thinking is assessing whether such exists — but you are also obliged to respond in a way that observes certain ethical limits to the use of force.

This is a tall order, for it means that it is better to risk the lives of one's own combatants than the lives of enemy non-combatants. It is often very difficult to separate combatants from non-combatants. Retrospectively, the just war tradition would call into question Allied strategic (or terror)

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bombing of cities in World War II. Beyond Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the deployment of so-called conventional bombs in the European theater was, of course, devastating to civilians on the ground. The targeting strategy, especially that of the Royal Airforce under Arthur Harris (known as "Bomber Harris"), was to target the most densely populated sections of German cities for bomb attacks. Some just war thinkers have justified this undeniable violation of the rule against targeting noncombatants on the grounds of the nature of the Nazi threat. Others, and here I count myself, believe such an obvious violation of *in bello* constraints must be labeled as such. One can do that without in any way adopting a holier-than-thou attitude about what was done. We were in the midst of what had become a total war and in a total war most, if not all, bets are off.

If World War II represented the abandonment of the concept of limits, the notion of limits has now been restored, especially the rule concerning noncombatant immunity. Indeed, this rule has been more or less accepted and encoded over time as a norm, one much violated but a norm nonetheless. During and after a conflict we assess the conduct of a war-fighting nation by how its warriors conducted themselves. Did they rape and pillage? Were they under careful rules of engagement or was it a free-for-all? Was every attempt made to limit civilian casualties knowing that, in time of war, civilians are invariably going to fall into harm's way? But that harm must be unintentional, must take the form of so-called collateral damage. A legitimate military target was struck but, tragically, civilians fell afoul of the effort to take out a military target: That is the just war dictum.

Since the Vietnam War and the restructuring of the United States military, pains have been taken to underscore the codes of ethics that derive from the just war tradition in our military academies and in the training of our soldiers. No group in this country pays more attention to ethical restraint on the use of force than does the United States military.

How, then, does a military attempting to abide by ethical rules of engagement respond to an act of naked aggression that violates all the norms and rules of war? Are we not obliged to fight with one hand tied behind our backs if we respond in a limited manner to violence that knows no limit? In a manner that, for example, does not kill or even threaten to kill 5,000 civilians because many thousands of one's own civilians have been murdered by perpetrators who scarcely deserve the name of either soldier or warrior?

The answer is no: We put soldiers into combat rather than unleashing terrorists. The soldier, in contrast to the terrorist, searches out and punishes those responsible for planning, aiding and abetting, and perpetrating an evil deed. There is such a thing as just punishment — to be distinguished from revenge. Revenge repudiates all limits; just punishment observes restraints.

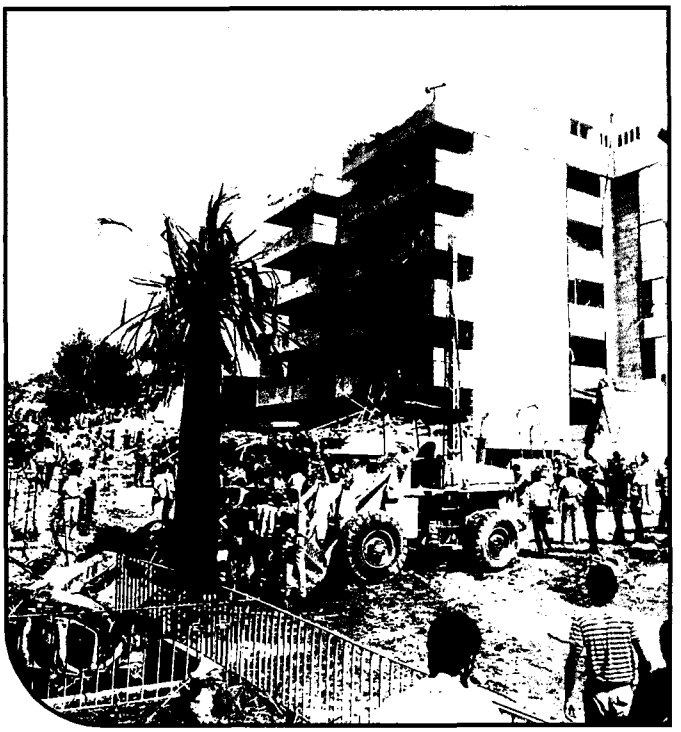
On Sept. 11, America sustained a greater loss of human life in a single day than ever before in our history, easily topping the previous norm for one day of death, the Battle of Antietam. Americans indicate they are prepared for this "different kind of war" but the numbers of those who support action against terrorism, up to and including the use of force, begin to waver somewhat when the question is put as to whether this force would be acceptable if "innocent men, women, and children" are victims. No war can be fought without putting noncombatants in harm's way. But, clearly, the American public favors doing everything humanly possible to limit this damage.

The Bush administration has wisely imposed such limits on its own use of force, starkly contrasting our way of doing battle with that of the terrorists. This will help to sustain American resolve over the long haul. The United States and its allies are putting our combatants in harm's way to punish those who put our noncombatants in harm's way and have no compunction about mass murder. That is the burden of the just warrior — and a nation's honor. ◆

Chronology of TERRORISM

▶▶ **September 20** *Beirut, Lebanon*

Suicide car bomb attack against the U.S. Embassy Annex kills two Americans. Islamic Jihad Organization claims responsibility.



Jean Bethke Elshtain is the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Professor of Social and Political Ethics at the University of Chicago. She is author of *Democracy on Trial* (BasicBooks, 1995) and has written extensively on the just war tradition.

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The Key to Homeland Defense

We can fortify our geographic borders by tearing down bureaucratic borders.

by **Elaine C. Kamarck**

For more than a decade, a variety of government and academic studies have dealt with the issue of "grand terrorism" or "catastrophic terrorism." Most recognized how vulnerable the United States is to a crippling terrorist attack. Former Sens. Gary Hart and Warren Rudman, Texas Rep. Mac Thornberry, and Harvard's Prof. Ash Carter all anticipated the terrorism problem. Yet government officials, reluctant to create a sense of crisis, ignored their wisdom. After all, major changes in government involve upsetting many apple carts. Band-Aids, in the form of "better coordination," were applied, and on we went — oblivious — until Sept. 11.

Now is the time to re-examine these reports and build a 21st-century homeland defense that encompasses a wide variety of government missions. Air Force Col. Randell Larsen (ret.) says the mission continuum ranges from deterrence to prevention to preemption on one side of the scale, and from crisis management to consequence management to retaliation on the other. The second half of that equation is much easier to realize than the first because it occurs *after* a terrorist strike. *After* a tragedy, the behavior of large government bureaucracies changes. As long as there is a clear leader, like Mayor Giuliani in New York, bureaucracies become flexible and cooperative.

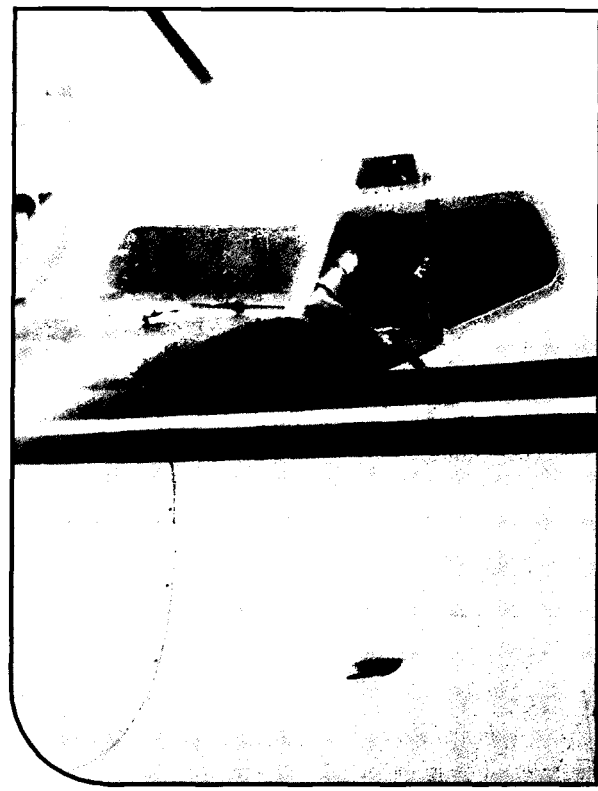
> "Border **protection** begins overseas when **we decide**, as a nation, who can come **here** and who cannot."

The chief problem of homeland defense is prevention, which must occur *before* a tragedy. But big bureaucracies operating in non-crisis mode in ordinary times are more likely to protect information than to share it; this is especially true when the information is sensitive. Prevention occurs on the nebulous border between our foreign policy, the defense of our shores, and the internal fight for law and order. This border is the source of a vexing intelligence problem: While the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) gathers intelligence and follows procedures designed to bring criminals to trial, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) gathers intelligence and follows procedures designed to protect its sources. The two agencies cannot and should not be combined. Yet only with the resources of both institutions can a comprehensive picture of terror (or crime) emerge. The rapidity with which the government identified the terrorists in the Sept. 11 attack is testimony to the fact that many of the elements of the terrorists' plan were known, in disparate and unconnected ways, to various international and domestic intelligence agencies. But information discovered, or shared, after the fact is worth only a fraction of what it would have been worth before the fact.

One way to solve the legal and metaphorical problem of the border between domestic and foreign law enforcement is to focus on the geographical border. We should create a border-control agency as part of a new Agency for Homeland Defense. This idea has been around for a long time. Currently our borders are protected by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which tries to keep out bad people, and the Customs Service, which tries to keep out bad things. When the Clinton-Gore administration began

Chronology of TERRORISM

▶▶ June 14-July 1 *Beirut, Lebanon*
Hijackers of TWA Flight 847 murder a U.S. Navy serviceman onboard.



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its reinventing government project (REGO) in 1993, both these agencies were renowned for their hostility to each other. Today they cooperate more, but they still cannot provide the kind of unified border defense that we need. Information gets to them slowly even as terrorists slip across remote border crossings.

To overcome this dilemma, we should begin by merging Customs and the INS. We should create a new agency charged with the protection of our borders. This new entity should include the U.S. Coast Guard (presently part of the U.S. Department of Transportation) as well as the U.S. Consular Service, now a branch of the State Department. After all, border protection begins overseas when we decide, as a nation, who can come here and who cannot. Today decisions about visas and entry into the United States are made by inexperienced young diplomats, not by people trained in law enforcement. Besides taking over visa and border controls, the new agency could also federalize security at our airports, beginning with the international airports.

Key to the success of a new border control agency will be the ability to use foreign and domestic intelligence in real time. This will require new laws and new protocols that allow high-speed sharing between agencies with differing missions and charters, such as the FBI and the CIA. It will take political will to make the necessary legislative changes and a new level of trust between the intelligence-gathering agencies to implement them. Quickly turning raw intelligence into operationally useful data is key to effective prevention and to homeland defense. Former Gov. Tom Ridge's Homeland Security Office will be ineffective unless it finds ways to overcome the stovepipe flow of information. Under present structures, by the time one agency sends a piece of raw data up the chain of command to Ridge, and he passes it down another agency's chain of command to the operational level, a hijacker may have crossed a border or an anthrax dose may have passed through a port.

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Cooperation and coordination are among Washington's favorite words. They are used frequently by those at the top. But, in fact, they are merely bromides that don't require the painful business of reorganization. If homeland defense is to be meaningful, it must happen outside the confines of the White House. It must be implemented on our borders or outside our borders when visa officers, Customs agents, INS agents, and Coast Guard personnel, acting on intelligence gathered here or abroad, manage to stop, to deter, to prevent the terror. Anything less is a Band-Aid. ◆

Elaine C. Kamarck is on the faculty of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. She ran the reinventing government initiative in the Clinton-Gore administration and is currently writing a book on 21st-century government.

Bolstering Our Front-Line Defense

We must help cities and states prevent and respond to future acts of terrorism.

by **John D. Cohen**

At the forefront of homeland defense are the states and cities. After all, terrorists, like the rest of us, live and work in local communities and perpetrate their crimes mostly in cities, not in uninhabited areas. This means, first, that every citizen can serve as the extra eyes and ears of the anti-terrorist campaign.

But it also means that the first responders to terrorist emergencies, as they were in New York and at the Pentagon, will be state and local law enforcement, fire departments, EMS, hospitals, and other frontline agencies of government — from public health to social service agencies. The federal government must therefore ensure that state and local authorities have the training, tools, technology, and other resources needed to implement proactive, information-driven efforts both to prevent and to respond to future acts of terror.

For starters, every state should develop a comprehensive strategic plan. It should be based on a worst-case scenario in the event of a terror attack: police and firefighters stretched to the limit; 911 lines overwhelmed; hospitals flooded; roads clogged; and public utilities, from water to the Internet, in crash mode.

Strategies should include an assessment of potential targets for attack and a detailed plan to coordinate efforts among federal, state, local, and even private entities. They should develop a mechanism that allows government and non-government personnel to obtain referrals to health care and social service programs by either calling a single phone number or using the Internet.

States should also consider establishing a public health communications network to support care delivery and the discovery of emerging health issues (disease, bioterrorism, etc.). In addition, states and cities should move aggressively toward modernizing their communications grid with the latest, real-time technology that allows for coordinated, centralizing information sharing. ◆

John D. Cohen is president of PSComm LLC and directs the Progressive Policy Institute's Community Crime Fighting Project.

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Countering the New Asymmetric Threats

It will take a coordinated effort to fight terrorists armed with weapons of mass destruction.

by **Rep. Ellen Tauscher**

The Sept. 11 attacks have challenged us to think about national defense in a new way by bringing devastation into the heart of America. Today's threats are asymmetrical — and they are in our backyards.

We can no longer be prepared simply for formal military campaigns waged on battlefields. People on the new frontlines will be fighting terrorism, cyber-attacks, and weapons of mass destruction, including chemical and biological weapons.

Weapons of mass destruction, or WMD, pose the most serious threat to the United States because they are among the hardest to protect against and often easy to use. They include nuclear, chemical, radiological, biological, and even electromagnetic pulse weapons. Because they vary greatly, so do the actions necessary to deter and prevent their use. Furthermore, they can be delivered on something as large as a ballistic missile or as small as an aspirin bottle.

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Currently about 25 countries are suspected of having weapons of mass destruction or to be actively seeking them. A large number of subnational groups are also seeking to acquire WMD.

Moreover, what might be called the "rules of the game" for weapons of mass destruction have changed. In the 1980s, state-sponsored chemical weapons were used in the Iran-Iraq war, easing any taboo that may have previously existed in interstate conflicts. Then, in 1995, the Aum Shin Rikyo cult's sarin gas attack on a Tokyo subway demonstrated that an independent terrorist group can acquire a weapon of mass destruction and use it to injure thousands.

These challenges only underscore the need for a comprehensive strategy abroad and at home to reduce the number of weapons of mass destruction and deter hostile activity around the globe. No single system can meet all of America's national security needs in a world at risk from unpredictable threats. We have to work to stop a terrorist from surreptitiously sending a bomb on a ferry up the Hudson River as well as across the ocean on an advanced rocket delivery system.

The United States and Russia hold the largest stockpiles of weapons-usable nuclear material. It is critical that our countries strengthen efforts to dismantle nuclear weapons in Russia; protect fissile material through inventory and control; improve security at Russian nuclear facilities; and help the large number of unemployed Russian nuclear scientists find work in places other than nations and terrorist organizations seeking to develop nuclear arsenals of their own.

Inadequately secured nuclear material anywhere is a threat to all nations, and it is likely that if terrorists ever use a nuclear weapon against America, the materials will come from Russia's decaying nuclear complex.

The administration and Congress need to adequately fund and accelerate major U.S.-Russian nuclear security programs. The Cooperative Threat Reduction Initiative, commonly referred to as the Nunn-Lugar program, has had an impressive track record of destroying strategic delivery systems, storing and safeguarding fissile material, and improving safeguards for WMD materials and warheads.

Nunn-Lugar has worked. As the Cooperative Threat Reduction Initiative celebrates its 10-year anniversary, more than 5,500 nuclear warheads have been deactivated, and the program has brought about the elimination of 740 ballistic missile launchers, 87 heavy bombers, 20 ballistic submarines, and 645 ballistic missiles. Moreover, Nunn-Lugar helped former Soviet states like Belarus, Kazakstan, and Ukraine become nuclear-free and accede to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

Diplomacy is also an important tool in our defenses against WMD. Under current treaty guidelines, we are able to verify that other countries are abiding by their commitments — something we would forfeit if we chose to act unilaterally.

As the president leads an international coalition to fight terrorism, the United States has an important opportunity to take the lead on strengthening international efforts to interdict illegal trafficking of WMD materials, especially in Central Asia, which is fast becoming a hotbed for smuggling nuclear material.

The International Atomic Energy Agency released startling new figures in September showing that the number of nuclear smuggling cases has risen dramatically in Turkey, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. While only four of the 104 cases from 1993 to 1995 occurred in the region, nearly one-quarter of the cases worldwide in the last five years occurred there. Furthermore, in the last eight years there have been more than a hundred attempts to smuggle nuclear material into Turkey.

The United States has provided millions of dollars worth of detection equipment to several countries in the region. This equipment has detected radioactive material being transported across the border between Uzbekistan and

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Kazakstan a number of times in the last few months alone. Given this success and the increasing threat, our investment should be enhanced.

On the domestic side, a robust homeland defense requires sophisticated intelligence gathering and analysis, state-of-the-art technology, and bold new thinking about how to protect Americans from terrorism's increasing threat.

While the appointment of former Gov. Tom Ridge as director of the White House's new Office of Homeland Security will raise the profile of domestic security, only a sustained effort will relieve the poor coordination and interagency friction that impedes our efforts to battle the WMD threat. If Ridge is to successfully coordinate our nation's homeland security efforts, he needs the right tools, more authority, and a real budget. We should create a new Homeland Security Agency.

It simply doesn't make sense to have more than 40 government agencies responsible for counterterrorism as we do today. By transferring the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the U.S. Customs Service, the U.S. Border Patrol, the U.S. Coast Guard, and parts of the Commerce Department and Federal Bureau of Investigation to a new agency in charge of homeland security, we will focus our counterterrorism efforts and make them exponentially more effective. And Congress will be able to put the necessary commitment, clout, and money behind these efforts.

Efforts to improve our homeland security should also focus on making better use of existing resources such as those at our national labs. For example, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory has investigated a number of nuclear extortion threats, nuclear reactor threats, and hundreds of cases involving the attempted illicit sale of alleged nuclear materials. The lab is also working on developing handheld devices that are highly accurate at detecting biological weapons, and it is producing decontamination reagents that would be effective against both chemical and biological agents. Another laboratory, Sandia National Laboratories in California, is working on a WMD decision analysis center to simulate federal reactions and coordination in the event of an attack.

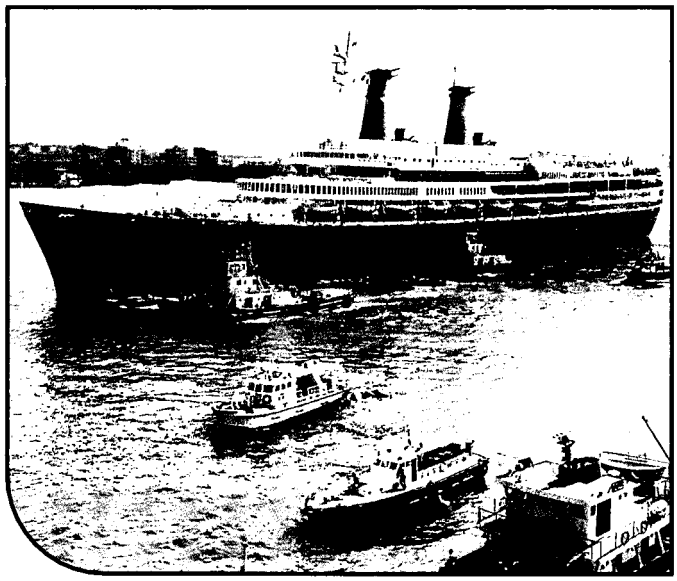
As we seek new strategies to counter the asymmetric threats we now face, the key is to take a comprehensive approach. That's why it is important, even as we prosecute a war on terrorism, to boost our cooperation with Russia and focus heavily on strengthening homeland security. Just as it took a coordinated effort — involving military, diplomatic, and economic mobilization, at home and abroad — to win previous great wars, so will it require overlapping efforts on many fronts to win this one. ◆

Rep. Ellen Tauscher (D-Calif.) is vice chair of the Democratic Leadership Council and a member of the House Armed Services Committee.

Chronology of TERRORISM

▶▶ **October 7** *Port Said, Egypt*

Palestinian Liberation Front gunmen hijack the cruise ship **Achille Lauro**, kill an American passenger, and throw his body overboard. Abu Abbas, the mastermind behind the attack, is a free man in Gaza City today. A warrant for his arrest is outstanding in Italy.



Preparing for Bioterrorism

Our alarming lack of preparedness was shockingly revealed in last summer's *Dark Winter* war games.

by **Peter Ross Range**

No aspect of the new national security threat faced by the United States is greater than the menace of biological and chemical weapons. And no part of our national defenses appears weaker than our preparation for biochemical attacks.

While we argue over missile defenses and warhead reduction, our greatest concern right now should be closing the chilling gap between this new threat and our ability to respond to it. And the best way to do so, say many experts, is by dramatically improving our public health system.

Our alarming lack of preparedness was apparent even before Sept. 11. "Public health is an important pillar in our

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Protection Through Detection

We should deploy new technology to defend Americans against nuclear, biological, and chemical terrorism.

by **Jonathan Crane**

Funding the detection of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons should be one of our highest priorities. Fortunately, technology is already available that can detect nuclear weapons and fissile material being transported along thoroughfares. It is called the Detection Tracking System (DTS). We could probably deploy a first-generation system in 18 to 24 months. The system isn't foolproof, but tests indicate that it would have a high success rate.

But deployment needs to be funded. Ballpark estimates suggest that we could protect a city the size of Washington, D.C. — 2 million people in the metro area — for about $50 million to start and $10 million a year thereafter. We could protect the 20 largest cities in the country for roughly $1 billion to start and $200 million a year subsequently.

For a threat in less densely populated areas, a mobile system could be deployed. This technology compares favorably to missile defense, though it is much further along in development. And it addresses a threat that is imminent rather than one that is at least 10 years way. Additionally, it is much cheaper. Of course, there is no need to choose between them. Ultimately, successful implementation of both systems could reduce our vulnerability to nuclear attack by a tremendous amount. But missile defense is for the future. DTS should be deployed now.

Biological and chemical weapons are harder to detect before they are used. However, airborne particle detection technology is improving. One example is the Joint Biological Remote Early Warning System. It is being developed to protect American troops abroad, but it could be adapted to the protection of cities. Such technologies are aimed at response rather than prevention. The equipment is designed to identify biological or chemical agents released into the air.

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Quick identification is important, particularly for biological weapons. It could conceivably make the difference between an isolated incident affecting a few hundred people and a nationwide pandemic. It wouldn't prevent attacks, but it might prevent the destruction from becoming massive.

Jonathan Crane is a senior fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute.

national security framework," said former U.S. Sen. Sam Nunn before Congress last Sept. 5. His call for an overhaul of the public health system to prepare for bioterrorism seemed even more compelling after the bioterrorism attacks began.

Nunn had participated, in the role of president of the United States, in a midsummer war game entitled *Dark Winter*. In the course of a simulated 13-day national crisis during which smallpox was released in three American cities, Nunn and the other war-gamers learned in frightening detail just how badly prepared the United States was for bioterrorism.

First, the nation quickly ran out of smallpox vaccines. Desperate citizens began rioting for medications. The government was on the brink of enacting martial law. Interstate commerce was eroding rapidly. The members of the simulated National Security Council, as well as state and local officials, were at their wits' end.

Too late, the nation realized it had not produced sufficient vaccine. Too late it understood that it had not invested adequately in the planning and exercises necessary for coordinated response. The government had not ensured that the public health infrastructure was adequate to handle a sudden surge of cases. The national leadership had failed to educate the American people about what was happening and what people should do in a bioterrorist attack. There were no strategies to engage the media in educating the public.

And, insofar as there were some counter-bioterrorism plans in place, none of the leaders had actually practiced what to do in a crisis.

In short, it became apparent that the American government had not ranked biological terrorism or infectious diseases as high national priorities. The country was, essentially, naked against biochemical attack. From this sobering experience, reported Nunn, a number of lessons emerged.

First, America must raise bioterrorism to the top of the national agenda — just as high as nuclear weaponry and deterrence was during the Cold War. More attention and resources must be focused on the specific threat of bioterrorism — understanding that it is different from other threats the nation faces. The country must begin to think about public health in the same way it thinks about national security. Public health professionals should be seen as full

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partners on the American national security team — and a place for one of them should be made on the president's National Security Council at the White House.

History tells us that America has always been willing to meet the challenge, and pay the bills, when it comes to its defense systems and budgets. But now, concluded the war-gamers, the nation must be willing to do the same when it comes to funding biomedical research to develop vaccines, therapeutic drugs, rapid diagnostic tests, and other medical weapons in the arsenal against bioterrorism. It is critical to give America's scientists all the support and encouragement they need to confront the sinister potential of modern biological research.

In his testimony before Congress, Nunn argued that we should help the scientific community devise systems that both increase our bio-surveillance capabilities and the security of our drug stocks. "Biological weapons must be countered with new protocols for securing dangerous pathogens," he said. Laboratories and research institutions need better resources to detect, track, and contain epidemics; they need better diagnostic facilities and communication links to one another nationwide.

The war-gamers concluded that as we ramp up our biomedical counterattack on bioterrorism, we should simultaneously build our national pharmaceutical stockpile to capacity. This includes extra production capacity for drugs and vaccines, with heightened security at the various dispersal sites. It is critical that America not fall victim to a twin attack that releases a bio-agent and simultaneously destroys the nation's stocks of drugs and vaccines.

Another recommendation is to develop plans for a flood of patients in hospitals to make the best use of existing resources in an emergency. This requires careful planning, including how to utilize ancillary facilities such as gymnasiums or armories, since most hospitals are already operating at or near capacity.

The best defense against bioterrorism is deterrence, said Nunn. To block the proliferation of bio-weapons, the nation should significantly bolster its intelligence-gathering capability. It should also find ways to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention. Coupled with this, it is important that America make special efforts to provide peaceful research options to scientists from the former Soviet Union. Many are bioterrorism experts with knowledge that could be turned against us if they are not offered more appealing alternatives.

Recognizing that all the deterrence in the world may not prevent attack, Nunn recommended that all appropriate government agencies — at the federal, state, and local levels — engage in training and war-gaming to find the strengths and weaknesses of their anti-terrorism preparations. Very specific and detailed plans should be developed in all jurisdictions, he said, so that every unit of government knows what to do in an attack. These plans, like school fire drills, should be exercised regularly. *Dark Winter* was an eye-opener for its participants, and officials at the highest levels of the federal, state, and local government were encouraged to participate in war games themselves.

Likewise, there should be a clear plan for providing the news media with timely and accurate information to help save lives and prevent panic.

Public health has too often received short shrift in our planning and public funding. This needs to change, argued Nunn to his former colleagues. Congress needs to understand that expanding disease surveillance and the government's response capacity to biological weapons attacks is no longer just a matter of health and social policy, but a matter of urgent national security policy. "It is important that we prepare with all possible speed, because if an attack occurs, and succeeds, there will be others," concluded Nunn.

Three weeks later, the bioterrorism attacks began. ●

Chronology of TERRORISM

▶▶ **December 27** *Rome, Italy*

Abu Nidal Organization gunmen attack El Al and TWA passengers at the Rome airport, killing five Americans.

Peter Ross Range is editor of BLUEPRINT.

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Chemical & Germ Warfare

1918

1910s

[illegible]
French use tear gas grenades against Germans during World War I. Germans retaliate with tear gas artillery shells.

[illegible]
Germans attack the French with chlorine gas at Ypres, Belgium — the first major use of chemical weapons in modern warfare. Allied forces quickly retaliate in kind.

[illegible]
German agents use anthrax and the equine disease ganders to infect livestock and feed for export to Allied forces.

[illegible]
Germans attack U.S. troops with **phosgene and chloropicrin** — the first major use of chemical weapons against American forces.

[illegible]
British use adamsite against the Bolsheviks during the Russian Civil War.

1920s

[illegible]
Spanish use mustard gas and other chemical weapons against rebels in Spanish Morocco.

[illegible]
Geneva Protocol banning use of poisonous gases and bacteriological agents in war is signed. All the great powers except the United States and Japan ratify the protocol before World War II.

1930s

[illegible]
Italy, a party to the Geneva Protocol, uses mustard gas against Ethiopians during its invasion of Abyssinia.

[illegible]
Japan begins its biological weapons program. Unit 731, the biological weapons R&D unit, is located in Harbin, Manchuria. Over the course of the program, some 10,000 prisoners are killed in Japanese experiments.

[illegible]
Japan poisons Soviet water supply along former Mongolian border with intestinal typhoid bacteria.

1940s

[illegible]
Japan drops rice and wheat mixed with plague-carrying fleas over China and Manchuria.

1942

[illegible]
Nazis begin using **Zyklon B (hydrocyanic acid)** in gas chambers for the mass murder of concentration camp prisoners.

[illegible]
Nazis attack U.S. ship loaded with mustard gas in Bari, Italy. Eighty-three American troops die in poisoned waters.

[illegible]
Nazis manufacture and stockpile large amounts of tabun and sarin nerve gases but do not use them.

[illegible]
Nazis poison a large reservoir in Bohemia with sewage — the only known tactical use of biological weapons by Germany.

1960s

[illegible]
United States uses tear gas and defoliants including Agent Orange in Vietnam.

[illegible]
Egypt uses phosgene and mustard gas against Yemen.

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1970s

[redacted]
International convention prohibiting development, production, and stockpiling of biological weapons is opened for signature.

[redacted]
Chicago police arrest members of a U.S. neo-Nazi group who possess 30 to 40 kilograms of typhoid bacteria for use against water supplies in Midwestern cities.

[redacted]
United States ratifies the 1925 Geneva Protocol and the 1972 biological weapons convention.

[redacted]
Soviet-backed forces in Laos and Cambodia allegedly use Yellow Rain (trichothecene mycotoxins) against enemies.

[redacted]
In a case of Soviet state-sponsored assassination, Bulgarian exile Georgi Markov, living in London, is stabbed with an umbrella that injects him with a tiny pellet containing ricin.

[redacted]
U.S. government alleges Soviet use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan, including Yellow Rain.

[redacted]
Outbreak of pulmonary anthrax in Sverdlovsk, U.S.S.R. In 1992, Russian President Boris Yeltsin acknowledges that the outbreak was caused by an accidental release of anthrax spores from a Soviet military microbiological facility.

1980s

[redacted]
Iraq begins using mustard gas in Iran-Iraq War.

1984

[redacted]
Iraq uses nerve agent tabun in Iran-Iraq War.

[redacted]
Followers of the **Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh** in Antelope, Ore., allegedly contaminate salad bars in local restaurants with salmonella bacteria. Nearly 800 people are sickened.

1987-1998

[redacted]
French authorities reportedly discover a crude biological weapons lab during a raid on a Red Army Faction/Bader-Meinhof Gang safe house.

[redacted]
Iraq uses **hydrogen cyanide and mustard gas** in its campaign against the Kurds, most notably in the Halabja massacre of 1988.

[redacted]
Iraq develops biological weapons that use anthrax, botulium toxin, and aflatoxin.

1990s

[redacted]
United Nations approves international convention prohibiting development, production, stockpiling, and use of chemical weapons.

1995

[redacted]
Members of **Shoko Asahara**'s Aum Shinrikyo cult release sarin nerve gas on the Tokyo subway, killing 12 and injuring thousands.

[redacted]
International chemical weapons convention enters into force.

[redacted]
Iraq is suspected of maintaining an active chemical and biological weapons program in violation of the ceasefire agreement it signed with the United Nations Security Council. Baghdad refuses to allow the U.N. to inspect suspected weapons development sites.

2000s

[redacted]
Unknown assailants disperse anthrax in powder form through the U. S. Postal Service, targeting media outlets and government offices.

SOURCES: Monterey Institute of International Studies, World Health Organization, Canadian Security Intelligence Service.

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The Case Against Saddam

Iraq's leader has the means and motive to unleash weapons of mass destruction against America.

by **Khidhir Hamza**

As Americans adjust to the new reality of bioterrorism, it is gratifying to see more and more fingers pointing to Iraq as a possible source of germ warfare. For too long, we have allowed the menace of Saddam Hussein's biowarfare program to continue unabated and unmolested. Now is the time to take drastic action against one of the most serious threats to world peace and stability.

Everything we know about Saddam tells us that he could be the culprit behind the first wave of anthrax attacks or that he could soon start a new one. Long before Osama bin Laden got to No. 1 on the FBI's most wanted list, the Iraqi leader was hard at work, employing top scientists and developing not only his much-talked-about nuclear program, but biological and chemical weapons as well.

I know full well what he was up to because I spent two decades as a senior official in Iraq's Atomic Energy Commission. Between 1987 and the beginning of Desert Storm in 1991, I wore two ominous hats: I was head of the Iraqi nuclear weapons program, and I was a director general in its Military Industry department, which oversaw much of the work on biological and chemical weapons. Saddam Hussein forced me to return from my teaching post in the United States or see my family punished; he had personally charged me with developing Iraq's first nuclear bomb. When the Persian Gulf War broke out with Saddam's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, we had a vast biowar arsenal and were only a few months away from having a working nuclear device. I was finally able to escape Baghdad in 1994 and defect to the United States.

Even though United Nations inspectors were booted out of Iraq in 1998, the arrival in the West of many other defectors has allowed me — and the U.S. intelligence services — to stay current on what Saddam is still capable of.

The viable threat. Here is what we should be worried about: Saddam has the capability to produce biowar agents, including anthrax, in large quantities — not just raw anthrax in liquid form, which almost anybody can prepare, but in a powder that is effective as a terrorist tool. In 1995, Saddam's government admitted to having produced 8,500 liters of concentrated anthrax; U.N. officials believe Iraq had four times that much in hiding.

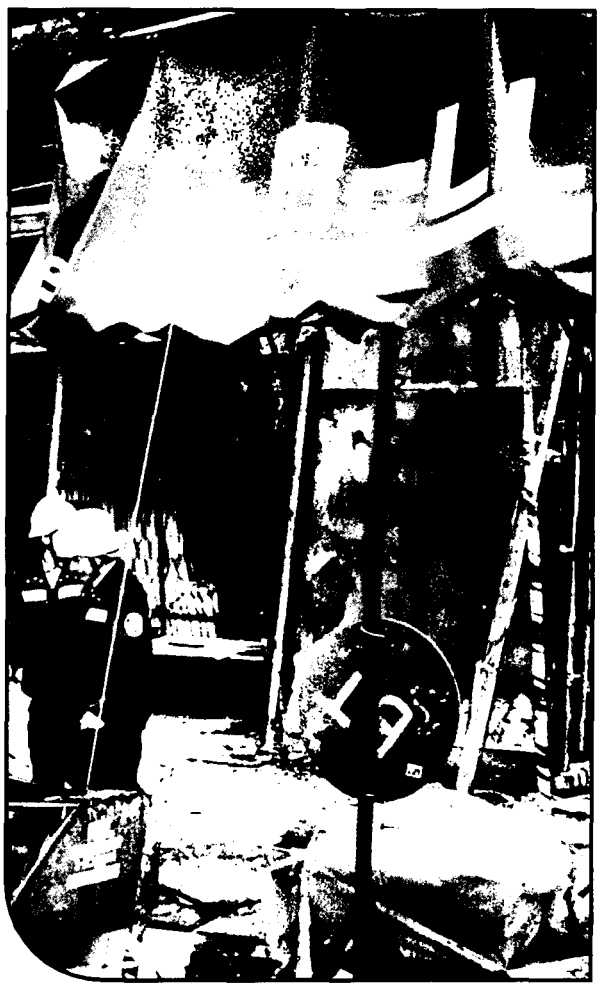
Whether Saddam was involved in providing the spores and powder that hit the U.S. Congress, the U.S. Postal Service, and other institutions all over the country is irrelevant; it's his clear capability to do it that should concern us. Experts believe Saddam, who has the most biological know-how in the region, has been actively building up his bioterror supplies. Very few parties with a grudge against the United States have the ability and the means of producing the microbe in highly refined form. Of these, Iraq is the only one with a deep enmity toward the United States.

Iraq's germ warfare program was perfected during its war

Chronology of TERRORISM

▶▶ **April 5** *West Berlin, West Germany*

Bomb explodes at the La Belle discotheque, killing two American servicemen. Several groups claim responsibility. Three Germans, a Palestinian, and a Libyan are currently on trial in Berlin for staging the attack.



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with Iran in the 1980s. Little known outside scientific circles is the fact that Saddam even experimented on human beings, starting around 1985 with anthrax. Cholera was developed as a weapon as well and employed in experiments on villagers in the Kurdish north. According to an unpublished British report that fell into my hands while I was running Iraq's nuclear program, the experiment came to light only when some Kurds who escaped to Turkey were examined by British doctors. The physicians were surprised to see a particularly virulent cholera strain not commonly found in the region. In future experiments, according to my sources in the government, Iraqi troops were deployed around Kurdish villages to shoot the survivors who tried to escape to Turkey.

Iraq's germ warfare equipment and stocks were supposedly destroyed under the direction of U.N. inspectors after Desert Storm. But the fact is that Saddam managed to hide quite a bit of it, as well as the biologists who worked on the weapons. A U.N. inspector told me years later that he tracked one of the biologists to Baghdad University, where he found her hiding in a class pretending to be a student. She had been a college dean before joining the biowarfare program.

U.N. reports indicated that the destruction of equipment Iraq declared it had gotten rid of could not be corroborated by on-site inspection. The same went for large repositories of weaponized biowarfare agents.

An arsenal of biological weapons. It should be pointed out that much of the equipment for the production of biowarfare agents were produced locally, and it still can be — including fermenters and dryers. Moreover, Iraq did not turn over much of the precision manufacturing equipment, such as computer-controlled lathes, that it imported from European vendors in the 1970s and 1980s for its nuclear program. Such equipment would enable Iraq to reconstitute its biowarfare program with only minor imports from abroad. Indeed, every Iraqi defector in recent years has reported that Iraq completely rejuvenated its programs for the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear ones. German intelligence estimates that Iraq will produce three atomic weapons by 2005.

Reports of terrorists trying to get their hands on crop-dusters also point to Iraq. Even before Desert Storm, Saddam's scientists had already modified crop-dusters for spraying biowarfare agents. They had also fitted a fighter plane with a spray tank. Agricultural sprayers are easily available on the open market. An Iraqi engineer managed to do the needed adjustments to turn them into sprayers for biowarfare agents. I doubt if the engineering skills and technology support needed for this operation would be available to al-Qaida.

Iraq has long harbored terrorists like the infamous Palestinian Abu Nidal. But terrorist training camps were actually opened in Iraq immediately after the 1968 Ba'athist coup that brought Saddam to power. After Iraq's defeat in the Gulf War in 1991, terrorist training camps proliferated all over the country. One was right next to my ranch, 30 miles north of Baghdad on a branch of the Tigris River.

The rural setting, far off the road, was ideal for such a facility. There were other camps, I learned later, that were even more remote, reachable only by helicopter. The buildings were so rudimentary that, from the air, they looked like Bedouin encampments.

The budding commandos were restricted from entering town. I got to know one of them because he had learned of my high rank in the government and had become friendly with my sons. In a relaxed mood one day, he told me that the training included the use of gas masks and special protective clothing, an unmistakable hint that biowar sabotage was in the curriculum.

> "Every Iraqi defector in recent years has **reported** that Iraq **completely** rejuvenated its programs for the manufacture of weapons of **mass destruction**, including nuclear ones."

Another reason to worry about Iraq: It still possesses a huge underground network of spies and purchasing agents abroad. I became intimately acquainted with how the network functioned during my 20 years in the nuclear weapons program, both as an end user and purchaser. To take just one example, the network gobbled up 130 classified reports from Germany alone on the manufacture of centrifuges for uranium enrichment.

Bin Laden's agents were reportedly in contact with the network, which could provide them with both the material and expertise to unleash biowar attacks on the West. The bottom line is that, taking into account Saddam's vicious nature, his humiliation over the last 10 years, and his declared intent to avenge his defeat in Desert Storm, he is perhaps the only national leader with both the means and the motive to help Osama bin Laden destroy the United States. The American government should urgently consider ways to push Saddam out of power. If we wait much longer, it may be too late. ◆

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> **Khidhir Hamza** is the former head of Iraq's nuclear weapons program. He defected to the United States in 1994. He is author, with Jeff Stein, of *Saddam's Bombmaker: The Terrifying Inside Story of the Iraqi Nuclear and Biological Weapons Agenda* (2000).

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It's our fight, too

Americans have always been prepared to sacrifice in times of war, and never more so than now. Our leaders should start asking us. In a war launched on our soil and aimed at our way of life, it is not enough for our government and our military to do more. We must do more ourselves, and prove that civil defense involves every citizen.

So far, Washington's main challenge to the citizenry has been: They also serve who fly and shop. Certainly, we shouldn't let terrorists keep us from our daily lives. But we will not win this war by shopping. The same is true of tax cuts, which may give our economy a short-term boost, but won't make us more resolute, united, or secure.

President Bush made a good beginning by urging all Americans to give generously to charity, and to practice tolerance toward their Muslim fellow citizens. Now, like Franklin Roosevelt, he should spell out the duty every citizen owes to the war effort.

First, the President should ask more Americans to serve their country. A call to citizen service would lift the nation's spirits and channel our energies in a way that repeated calls for normalcy have not. As Sens. John McCain and Evan Bayh have argued, we should expand AmeriCorps and bring the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) back to more college campuses. At the same time, we should increase the size of the Peace Corps, so that more Americans can promote our ideals around the world.

Service can also help muster the necessary troops for an effective civil defense. Firefighters, police officers, and emergency response teams are the new GIs in our domestic war on terror — and we'll need a lot more of them. In the short run, a smart stimulus package would help financially strapped communities hire more police and firefighters, instead of laying them off. For the long haul, Congress should pass a new GI Bill that offers college aid to anyone who signs up to defend America at home.

Second, we should close a gaping hole in our domestic security: Most Americans still have no idea what they're supposed to do in the event of another terrorist attack. In the late 1950s, Americans of all ages were drilled in the basics of civil defense, when our nation wasn't even at war. Now we're actually under attack, yet there is no organized effort to prepare citizens — just conflicting press conferences warning us against complacency one day and panic the next.

Every employer, every school, every citizen has a right and a responsibility to know what to do, where to go, and where to turn for information in a crisis. To ensure that every community is ready, the President should ask every American to take part in a national weekend of basic civil defense training this fall.

Third, the President should challenge the private sector to do its part. Just as 60 years ago, Detroit mobilized to produce tanks instead of cars, today our drug companies can mobilize to stockpile all the antibiotics and vaccines we need against bioterrorism. In the same way, we should enlist our high-tech sector in a breakneck effort to ensure that all the nation's law enforcement databases can communicate with one another. Silicon Valley could use the work — and we must not let 20th century bureaucracies and procurement decisions leave us vulnerable to another attack.

Finally, our leaders should be honest with the American people about the tough choices we'll have to make in order to pay for a sustained, successful war on terrorism. With the federal budget already headed back toward deficit, both parties have a responsibility to challenge Americans more, and bribe them less. Democrats should admit that the price of security is spending less on other things. Republicans need to acknowledge that the long-term fiscal discipline they shunned before Sept. 11 is now vital to the future strength of our national security as well as our economy. Yesterday's lockbox is tomorrow's war chest.

The best thing the President and Congress could do right now to restore confidence in our economy and demonstrate our resolve would be to scale back the income and estate tax cuts they passed earlier this year, and set the money aside for one purpose: to spend whatever it takes, for as long as it takes, to make America safe. Wealthy Americans would gladly make that sacrifice to help their country win this war.

The lives America lost on Sept. 11, and the fear and disruption we've endured since, might seem sacrifice enough. But when our enemies are prepared to sacrifice their lives to ruin ours, Americans don't want to retreat to our malls and couches. We want to know what we can do for our country. ◆

Bruce Reed is president of the Democratic Leadership Council and was President Clinton's domestic policy adviser.

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CONFRONTING NEW THREATS: A U.S. Navy jet is prepared for launch against al-Qaida targets in Afghanistan. It will take both conventional and unconventional forces, however, to defeat terrorism. We must fundamentally change how we are organized for national security — our military strategy, our hardware, and the very way we wage war — to meet the challenges of the new geopolitical landscape.

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Why We Fight

America is waging this war not just to protect its security but its values and way of life. || *by* **Sen. Joe Lieberman**

The Sept. 11 attacks on America presented our country and our president with extraordinary and unprecedented challenges. The brutal attacks came not from another country, but from a subnational gang of terrorists supported by other countries. Their motivation was largely religious, not political. As we meet the extraordinary challenge of winning the war on terrorism, it is important that we also sustain a larger political vision. We must not lose sight of why we are waging this war. It is not only to protect our security, but also to protect our values and uphold our way of life.

Beginning in 1992 and continuing through the Clinton-Gore administration, Democrats articulated and implemented a foreign policy that was values-based and fully engaged, a defense policy that was muscular and modern, and an economic policy that was internationalist. We understood that our victory over communism gave America special responsibilities. It also brought new interests and a greater commitment to act on reason in advancing our cherished ideals of democracy and a market economy, resolving regional disputes before they became violent, and, if we could not do that, stepping in militarily to stop the violence before it spread.

Building on that history, there now are four key aspects of the Bush administration's new approach to foreign policy that warrant widespread support. The first is the primacy of values. Our fundamental principles are as much on the line in this war against terrorism as they were in our battles with Nazism and communism. The current struggle pits the medieval zealotry and religious fanaticism of a holy war against the universalistic, humanitarian, democratic, tolerant ideals of America — ideals which, incidentally, are themselves faith-based.

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The freedoms that are our birthright and blessing as Americans are, in the words of our Declaration of Independence, the endowment of our Creator. We are each created equally in the image of God, and therefore each of us has an equal right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" — a vision that was totally absent from our attackers in their slaughter of 5,000 souls on Sept. 11. But today, the nation's shared faith has never been more vital or vibrant, as people have joined together in classically American interfaith services at churches, synagogues, mosques, and temples all over the country.

Second, as important as allies are to our cause, we

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New Military Strategy Falls Short

by **Steven J. Nider**

On Oct. 1, less than three weeks into America's new war on terrorism, Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld sent Congress a long-awaited strategy for reshaping the U.S. military. Unfortunately, the report failed to map out a concrete plan for transforming America's Cold War military into a more agile and integrated force better suited to meet new threats — such as the one made terribly real on Sept. 11.

President Bush promised this transformation during his 2000 campaign, when he charged accurately that, more than a decade after the Soviet Union collapsed, the U.S. military was "still organized more for Cold War threats than for the challenges of a new century." Shortly after taking office, he ordered a comprehensive review of U.S. war-fighting doctrines as well as force structure.

Rumsfeld set up a battery of independent panels to review a vast array of issues, including defense strategy, force structure, Pentagon financial management, quality of life for military personnel, and acquisition reforms. The secretive panels mostly worked separately and reported directly to Rumsfeld and a small circle of aides. This quite predictably bred suspicion among the uniformed military and key congressional leaders who grumbled about being shut out of the process. Nonetheless, the panels' findings became the foundation of the 2001 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR), a congressionally mandated top-to-bottom analysis of the U.S. military conducted every four years by the secretary of defense.

The new QDR updates the Pentagon's assessment of the risks facing America, identifies homeland defense as a top priority, and reorients U.S. military forces toward the world's new zones of instability. It also embraces the rhetoric of military transformation, but on this point — as on questions of means generally — it is maddeningly vague.

There is nothing in the QDR that envisions a significant increase in the new war-fighting technologies everyone agrees are critical: those that promise dramatic increases in the ability to see and understand what is occurring on a battlefield; that communicate that knowledge quickly and surely to U.S. forces; and that are equipped to bring force to bear faster, with much greater precision, over greater distances. Nor is there anything that pushes the changes in military organization, training, and doctrine to create forces that can better use those technologies.

The new QDR does jettison some anachronistic ideas about what we should design our military forces to do. It finally gets rid of the decade-old planning scenario of fighting two simultaneous wars. Criticized by transformation advocates as a classic example of preparing to fight the last war, the two-major-regional-wars doctrine provided the justification for preserving the Cold War force — albeit a somewhat shrunken one.

Replacing that doctrine is a new planning benchmark called "win-hold": U.S. forces must be large enough to win one major regional war while holding off an adversary in another theater of conflict, as well as dealing with a range of lesser contingencies and maintaining U.S. military presence abroad. On its surface, this scenario is more demanding and therefore implies a need for a larger force. But, in the absence of any discussion of transformation, it implies that this force would simply be a larger version of the Cold War force.

The QDR sensibly calls for creation of a new Army brigade equipped with lighter weight vehicles; development of high-speed transport ships for the Marines; and a shift in the balance of our overseas deployments from Europe to the Pacific. But it concludes that these and other recommendations can be accommodated without fundamental changes in a force structure designed for Cold War missions.

Above all, what the QDR lacks is a convincing road map for reshaping U.S. defenses to meet unconventional, "asymmetric" threats such as terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction — the very war we are fighting today. It offers no specifics on how the military will be revamped, how much it will cost, or what programs should be canceled or cut to pay for the changes. It fails to acknowledge the tough tradeoffs between transformation — which entails investing in the new technologies of information dominance as well as big organizational changes to ensure that military services operate jointly — and simply modernizing the current force structure.

The 2001 QDR mostly punts the big questions about military transformation. More than just a broken campaign promise, it represents a missed opportunity to reshape our military to wage a new kind of war against new threats and enemies. ◆

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must never allow the pursuit of coalition to diminish our purpose or compromise our values. Our purpose, the president has said, is to defeat not just bin Laden and terrorism, but all the terrorists and those who support their plans to defeat us and our values.

America should be unyielding in demanding that countries such as Syria and Iran end their support of terrorism before we will contemplate working with them. We should also be unflinching in our determination to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq before he, emboldened by Sept. 11, strikes at us with weapons of mass destruction. Although such policies may cause some of our current coalition participants to lose their nerve and even compromise their principles, they alone must make that determination at the peril of their relations with us.

Yet throughout this new war, we should respect the Arab and Muslim world enough to believe that the great majority will understand that this is a war against terrorists, not against Arabs or Muslims. That should be clear, first, from the way in which Americans from Pennsylvania Avenue to Main Street have reached out to our fellow citizens who are Arab-American or Muslim-American to pray with them, embrace them, and protect them from any harm or harassment. Further, in the decade-plus since the end of the Cold War, America has risked the lives of its sons and daughters in combat on four major occasions, and each has been to come to the aid of Arabs and/or Muslims — in Kuwait, Somalia, Bosnia, and Kosovo.

Third, we should encourage the Bush administration, now fully engaged in the world and committed to peacekeeping and nation-building, to use our fully flexed muscles to mediate some of the regional disputes that will only become more incendiary if we remain distant from them. That includes in particular the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Indian-Pakistani confrontations, which both demand immediate, high-level Bush administration intervention.

And fourth, we must urgently accelerate the transformation of our military to confront the unconventional, asymmetric threats, like terrorism, which experts have been warning for too long now would constitute the gravest assaults on our security in this new century.

Today's military still very much resembles a smaller but similar version of its Cold War self. We are going to have to make fundamental changes in how we are organized for national security, to change our military strategy, our hardware, and the very way we wage war to meet the challenges of the new geopolitical landscape. The U.S. military must aggressively experiment with new manned and unmanned weapons based on technologies such as hypersonics and directed energies. These new weapons — on land, on the sea, and in the air — will be smaller and more flexible, able to act far more quickly, and possessing far greater staying power for military commanders.

Chronology of TERRORISM

▶▶ **December 21** *Lockerbie, Scotland*

Bomb explodes aboard Pan Am Flight 103, killing all 259 passengers (189 Americans) and 11 people on the ground. In January 2001 a Scottish court, convened in the Netherlands, found a Libyan secret agent guilty of the crime. His co-defendant was acquitted.

In the wake of the terror attacks, the administration and Congress have worked together to bolster America's armed forces, enhance intelligence and law enforcement capabilities, and improve emergency response systems. The changes made in airport security are the first visible manifestations of what can be done to shore up the defenses of our homeland against future attacks.

But we cannot just play defense. We can and must anticipate how and where our enemies may strike and take proactive steps to stop them before they can succeed. Thankfully, Congress had taken this responsibility seriously even before Sept. 11. In the fiscal 2002 defense authorization bill, the Senate Armed Services Committee added about $2 billion to the president's budget request to strengthen the military and more than $800 million to his request to help remake U.S. fighting forces to become lighter, more lethal, and more capable. In addition, we increased the president's request by more than $600 million for programs to counteract non-traditional threats, including terrorism and unconventional means of delivering weapons of mass destruction, and to experiment with new methods for responding to these threats.

America has every reason to be confident. We have what it takes — the might, the wealth, the brainpower, the determination, the unity, and, most important, the patriotism and principles — to achieve victory. ◆

> **Sen. Joe Lieberman** (D-Conn.) is chair of the Governmental Affairs Committee and a senior member of the Armed Services Committee.

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Revamping Our Intelligence Community

Improved coordination is crucial to winning the war against terrorism.

by **Dave McCurdy**

Accurate and timely intelligence is vital to success in any war. In the battle against terrorism, it will be critical.

Without question, now is not the time to point fingers. We stand behind the president, Congress, and our troops as we go forward on our mission to root out terrorism and bring those responsible for the atrocities of Sept. 11 to justice. However, it is fair for Americans to begin to examine why the federal agencies that make up the largest and best-funded intelligence community in the world were unable to prevent the attacks. How could Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaida terrorist network pull off such horrendous acts beneath the federal radar? More importantly, how can we ensure this doesn't happen again?

The answer is complicated. There are a host of problems plaguing our intelligence community and hampering its efficiency. The community's outstanding personnel are not to blame. However, it is completely inexcusable that we have not provided them with the best tools and information technology needed to do their jobs. Organizational and institutional dysfunction is an even larger problem. Intelligence and law enforcement agencies often fail to share vital information with one another. The Defense Department, which controls the bulk of intelligence funding, has historically exerted inordinate influence over intelligence priorities in support of its war-fighting mission. The intelligence community relies too little on human intelligence — spies, agents, and reliable informants. And it suffers from a dearth of linguists, analysts, and experts steeped in the customs, culture, and politics of the Middle East and Islamic world. We need to address all of these problems in order to fight terrorism on American soil and around the world.

Charles Darwin observed that it is neither the strongest nor the most intelligent that survive, but the ones most responsive to change. The Sept. 11 attacks were brilliantly evil; they were entirely "outside the box" of what we thoug likely. Now it is our turn to adapt. To win this new war, t intelligence community will have to change how it thin and acts and do a much better job of working together.

> "The Sept. 11 attacks were **brilliantly evil**; they were entirely 'outside the **box**' of what we **thought** likely."

Lack of coordination and communication. In 199 Sen. David Boren and I, as respective chairmen of t Senate and House intelligence committees, called for major overhaul of the intelligence community to address t new challenges and threats of the post-Cold War era. O of our greatest concerns was the lack of interagency coo dination. One has to ask, if we can sign intelligence-sharin agreements with the Russians and Chinese, why can't t Central Intelligence Agency, Federal Bureau of Investigatio and defense intelligence agencies cooperate and communica more effectively?

Others share our concerns. In 1995, the director of t CIA appointed me to a panel on weapons of ma destruction. We reported that the agencies responsible f protecting U.S. interests against such attacks suffered fro a lack of oversight and coordination. In 1998, I also serve on a similar commission created by Congress. We, to warned of a glaring lack of interagency coordination.

To address the problem, Boren and I called for the cr ation of a new post — the director of national intelligen — to lead the entire community. Currently, the CIA direct coordinates community activities. But his post lacks th authority, stature, and clout to set program priorities an allocate resources among agencies. For example, the part the intelligence community funded and supported by th Defense Department geared toward fighting co ventional wars; it has litt incentive during peacetim to focus on terrorism and other asymmetrical, low-intensi threats.

There are reports that Tom Ridge, the head of the ne federal Office of Homeland Security, will coordinate inte ligence information as it pertains to domestic preparednes Ridge, the former governor of Pennsylvania, is an extremel well qualified and respected manager and will be a re asset. Yet his power to "coordinate" may not be enough. H needs real power to direct policy, priorities, and resource

Ridge also needs to ask for the right set of tools to do h job. They should include the latest in information management technology. If John Chambers, the chief exec utive officer of Cisco Systems, can literally "close the books of his global company in just one hour, the head of th homeland defense office should have tools that give him rea time situational awareness about the activities of the agencie under his jurisdiction.

Several years ago the Defense Science Board, whic advises the Defense Department about new technolog

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created a task force to study terrorism, drug trafficking, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and other transnational threats. In an internal report, it urged the department to adopt an integrated "system of systems" approach to the problem. It also called for the development of an interactive global information system, built with existing state-of-the-art technology, to track and respond to such threats. Unfortunately, the recommendation was not adopted due to classic competition among the service branches. If Sept. 11 taught us anything, it is that such a system should be built.

Improving technical intelligence. The United States has been the unmatched master of developing sophisticated intelligence collection technology. Few nations have the capacity to produce, much less operate, such technical marvels as the satellites operated by the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO) and the data-crunching supercomputers developed by the National Security Agency (NSA). They are rightly considered the crown jewels of U.S. intelligence.

The NRO and NSA are funded through the Defense Department and report directly to the secretary of Defense. Together with the Defense Intelligence Agency and the service branches' intelligence units, they get the bulk of our intelligence funding. In Washington as in the private sector, influence is proportionate to the size of your budget. It is no wonder that direct support for the war-fighting mission gets top billing over counterterrorism and other intelligence missions.

The CIA's technology budget pales in comparison. Yet George Tenet, its director, deserves credit for innovative thinking about how to leverage resources. For example, in 1999 the CIA helped create In-Q-Tel, a nonprofit venture capital firm that discovers and gives a boost to entrepreneurs developing information technologies that the CIA can use. In-Q-Tel, for instance, invests in companies that are developing ways to find non-indexed information on the Internet and to merge public and private information sources. The ability to mine such "open source" information is increasingly critical in the fight against al-Qaida and other unconventional threats.

By partnering with the private sector, In-Q-Tel is helping to equip the CIA with new tools much more effectively than under Washington's traditional acquisition and procurement system. It has been a remarkable success and should be expanded to other intelligence agencies.

Human intelligence and covert action. Some conservative commentators argue that our intelligence community's problems began during the Carter administration, when CIA Director Stansfield Turner made deep cuts in the agency's Directorate of Operations and human intelligence activities. They liken it to Secretary of State Henry Stimson's 1929 decision to close his department's code-breaking agency on the grounds that "gentlemen do not read each other's mail."

CIA critics, meanwhile, point to the covert activities that CIA Director William Casey pursued during the Reagan administration in direct contravention of congressional will and policy. Casey's breach of trust between the agency, policymakers, and the public led to further restrictions on covert action.

We need to steer a course between these two extremes. It is going to take hard-nosed covert action to fight global terrorism, and it will not be easy. Spying is not a part of our culture. And recruiting and training the right people to infiltrate suspected terrorist cells will be a hard, time-consuming job.

In the short run we will have to rely on support not only

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▶▶ February 26 *New York*

Terrorists linked to Osama bin Laden's al-Qaida organization detonate a bomb at the World Trade Center, killing six and injuring more than 1,000. Six Islamic extremists were tried and convicted of the crime in a U.S. federal court.

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"The Real Target Is Our Way of Life"

Editor's Note: Lt. Gen. Claudia J. Kennedy, the only woman to earn the rank of three-star general in the U.S. Army, ended her 32-year career in the military in June 2000 as the Army's deputy chief of staff for intelligence. She recently shared her views on intelligence's role in the war against terror with BLUEPRINT.

BP What can we do to improve our intelligence-gathering efforts?

CK: Collection isn't the entire story. We need to do a better job of processing, analyzing, and disseminating. So far, most of the talk has been about collection. Can we improve it? Sure. The most obvious example is human intelligence. But for me, the bigger issue is the status of our intelligence-sharing relationships with other countries. It's far more likely that their people, who are native to and understand the culture of the area, will be a much more effective force than any we would produce.

BP Where does the job of law enforcement end and the job of the military begin in defending the United States against terrorism?

CK: The current national security structure was established by executive order in the late 1940s. It was revised in the mid-1970s to draw a great distinction between the military and law enforcement. ... Now we're facing an unprecedented situation. We're going to have to redefine the roles. We can't continue to operate under the assumption that we're only going to have force-on-force, conventional war with an enemy where we take the battle to their homeland. ... We need a national security system that's focused on today's actual threats, not on a post-Cold War framework in which expectations about warfare were very different. ... You've got to have a strong military not only to deter any conventional military attack on the United States, but to deter terrorist attacks as well.

BP Do we have the right military we need to win this war?

CK: Yes, we do. Americans have to remember that this isn't the only kind of war we need to be prepared to fight. We have to continue to be able to fight a conventional war. Now, we do have a lot of unconventional-warfare assets. We have counterterrorism capabilities; they can operate deep behind enemy lines. They've got enormous psychological and physical warfare capabilities. ... We have National Guard RAID units — Rapid Assessment and Initial Detection. These military support detachments are located throughout the country; their task is to support local first-responders. It's a great first step. ... The question is: Do we want to add more people, more money? Even before Sept. 11, I thought that we ought to have 50,000 more people in the active Army. Right now we have about 470,000. We should have at least 520,000. When you bring the Army below that level, it starts to get very difficult to do all the different missions. Until now, we've been depending on the Reserves and the National Guard when we have to deploy on peacekeeping missions and other quick deployments. If we're going to use the Guard, as I believe we should, for homeland security — to really focus on terrorism and other possible types of asymmetric attacks — then we need plenty of other people in the active Army.

BP What else should policymakers focus on as we launch this campaign against terrorism?

CK: They need to focus on other possible terrorist targets in addition to airlines and airports — telecommunications, banking, energy, health, transportation, sanitation — and to understand that we've made these systems not only more efficient, but also more vulnerable, by linking them through automation. Our vulnerability to weapons of mass destruction and cyberwarfare is also part of our new reality. ... We also need to recognize that this isn't going to be a campaign to seize territory, but a campaign to stake out a political and ideological victory. Any effort to reinvigorate homeland defense will fail if it doesn't take into account that terrorist attacks are motivated by cultural and ideological differences — that the real target is our way of life. We need to start our homeland defense at the root of terrorist activity. The climate for terrorism is set in enclaves of people who are deprived, insecure, and believe they lack power and influence. ◆

—Interviewed by Tom Mirga

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from allied intelligence services, but from those of recent adversaries. Active cooperation from Pakistan and other regional countries is critical to success against bin Laden, al-Qaida, and the Taliban regime. Such reliance entails risks and raises concerns about control, reliability, and tactics that we might have considered unacceptable before Sept. 11. It also imposes costs. There is a healthy quid pro quo in spy circles. We might have to give information to get information. We might have to promise support for or turn a blind eye to some nations' policies toward third countries. But we have no choice if we are to conduct successful operations against the terrorist network responsible for the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks. It will take pinpoint intelligence to produce tangible results on the ground in Afghanistan.

Success also depends on Americans' patience with and faith in their leaders. By necessity, much of this war will be conducted out of sight. Members of Congress and the media must respect the need for secrecy and non-disclosure. I am confident that the congressional intelligence oversight committees will be effective watchdogs and provide leadership on these issues. I was appalled to hear Rep. Robert Barr (R-Ga.) call in public for lifting the ban on assassinations. We should not discuss our sources and methods in public. The ban can be (and may already have been) lifted by a stroke of the president's pen. While the prohibition made sense following disclosure of abuses during the 1970s, a targeted and limited exception now seems reasonable.

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Future threats. As more information and evidence are gathered, it is becoming clear that there may be dozens of al-Qaida or anti-Western operatives and "sleepers" residing in the United States. The threat of additional suicide attacks remains high.

I have participated in six different war games since 1995, three for the CIA and three for the Army. In many, the "enemy" felt compelled to use weapons of mass destruction. There is mounting evidence of bin Laden's attempts to acquire them. The panels on weapons of mass destruction on which I have served concluded that biological and nuclear weapons are credible, realistic threats. They are not viewed as "unthinkable."

On Sept. 11, the world's lone superpower discovered it was vulnerable to terrorists who are willing to initiate a new kind of war. It took this disaster of monumental proportions to focus the intelligence community in a way that will enable it to effectively support our counteroffensive. Our country, people, values, and institutions are strong and resilient. But to win this new war, we will have to show a new adaptability in the way we think and act. We must provide domestic law enforcement and foreign intelligence services with the tools and the latitude they need to preempt, deter, and prevent further atrocities. ◆

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▶▶ **October 3** *Mogadishu, Somalia*

A rocket-propelled grenade downs a U.S. Army helicopter. Eighteen U.S. soldiers were killed in the crash and subsequent firefight between Army rescuers and Somali fighters. Bin Laden's military commander has claimed responsibility for training the Somalis who shot down the aircraft.

Dave McCurdy is president of the Electronic Industries Alliance and executive director of the Internet Security Alliance. A former member of Congress, he served as chairman of the House Intelligence Committee.

Dealing with the Middle East

Our domestic security depends on bringing peace and stability to the region.

by **Bruce W. Jentleson**

Once again, the convulsive hatreds and explosive passions of the Middle East have riveted Americans' attention. This time, however, the violence is not "over there," but right here on U.S. soil. On Sept. 11, 2001, the Middle East came to us.

Assessing the threat. For the United States, the danger is all too clear and present. Yet as the initial shock wears off, we have begun to see divergent assessments of the threat in

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the Arab and Islamic world. Some there view America as terrorists' primary target; others acknowledge that they too are targets but say that working with the United States will only compound their difficulty. A constant refrain is that America must change policies that foment terrorism, namely support for Israel.

Thus far such views have not precluded cooperation with the United States. But they bode ill for our efforts to build a broad and enduring anti-terror coalition that includes Arab and Islamic states.

We can use diplomatic sticks and carrots and bring other pressures to bear to get at least some of the cooperation we need. But the main dynamic should not be one of grudging cooperation or of doing favors for and collecting IOUs from the United States. Instead, the campaign against terror must be grounded in the inescapable reality of a common threat and convergent if not identical interests. After all, Osama bin Laden long has been seeking to destabilize Saudi Arabia and other Arab governments; the al-Qaida network includes Egyptian terrorist groups (one of bin Laden's lieutenants was among Anwar Sadat's assassins); and the Taliban has become Pakistan's Frankenstein. Our security is threatened, but so is the very survival of these governments.

The United States should firmly rebuff the argument that ties terrorism to progress in the Arab-Israeli peace process. The terrorists' issue is not the pace of the talks or the terms of an agreement — they do not want any agreement at all, nor do they want any Israel. To be sure, there was reason enough before Sept. 11 for getting Middle East peace negotiations back on track, and there is all the more reason now. Ebbing hope and spreading violence do add to the despair and rage that foster fundamentalism and anti-Americanism in the Arab world. At bottom, though, this rage is about America and what we stand for: freedom, pluralism, modernity.

Middle East strategy for the war on terrorism. The war on terrorism has three key elements: building and sustaining the widest possible regional coalition behind the war on terror; waging a vigorous battle of ideas; and redoubling efforts to get an Arab-Israeli peace process back on track.

First, we must sustain and advance progress made to enlarge upon the 1991 Gulf War coalition. Saudi Arabia and Egypt once again will remain key. Having Jordan with us this time already has paid big dividends, including cooperation between Jordanian and American intelligence that helped thwart the millennial New Year's terrorist plots there and here. The non-Arab Islamic frontline states, particularly Pakistan and the ex-Soviet Central Asian states, have been given much greater importance than during the Gulf War. To underscore that this is a war on terrorism — not Islam — we also should work hard to enlist Indonesia and other states with large Muslim populations in other parts of the world. Quiet diplomacy aimed at securing the tacit cooperation of officially unfriendly states like Iran also makes sense.

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▶▶ June 25 *Dhahran, Saudi Arabia*

Truck bomb explosion at the al-Khobar military housing facility kills 19 U.S. military personnel and wounds 502 others, including 240 Americans. The U.S. government has linked bin Laden to the attack. In June 2001 a U.S. federal grand jury indicted 13 Saudi Arabian citizens and one Lebanese man in connection with the bombing.

To reinforce these efforts, the United States should work through the U.N. Security Council for resolutions supporting the war on terrorism that build on those already passed. This is not soft multilateralism; it is hard realism. Most of the world sees the United Nations as a legitimizing force and its support for the anti-terror war will make it easier for other nations to sustain their roles in the coalition.

From within this broad grouping we need coalitions of "the willing and necessary" for more active operational roles. The United States, Britain, and possibly other European allies will bear the brunt of the actual fighting. From frontline states such as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Central Asian republics, as well as from Jordan and Egypt, we will need logistical, political, and intelligence support in locating targets and cracking into terror networks — their people, their communications, and their financial infrastructures.

While working with these governments to suppress a common threat, the United States should be wary of too close an embrace of corrupt, undemocratic, and unpopular regimes. We need to keep in mind past miscalculations, from our overidentification with the shah of Iran in the 1970s, the excessive "tilt" toward Iraq in the 1980s, and the too-quick exit from Afghanistan after the Soviets marched out in 1989.

Second, America and its allies must wage and win the battle of ideas and beliefs about Islam and its contemporary political meanings. It's true that many Arab leaders and Islamic scholars have affirmed that bin Laden and his ilk "defame Islam and the reputation of Muslims around the

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world," as one Islamic leader put it. Yet there remains considerable support for the terrorists on the "street."

Up until now most Arab regimes have shied away from confronting these attitudes and the myths on which they feed. On the contrary, they've colluded with extremists by permitting state-controlled media to indulge in vitriolic attacks on Israel and America to deflect fundamentalist ire from themselves. Those governments also have relied too long on police crackdowns and have sought to "export" their problems by throwing terrorist leaders out of the country. This double game — combining appeasement of fundamentalist rage with sometimes savage repression — has failed, for them and for us.

Security measures clearly need to continue to be a part of the strategy for penetrating and breaking the terrorist networks, but the ideological and theocratic battle also must be engaged and won. This is not about losing legitimacy by being too close to the United States. It is about regaining legitimacy through a strong and affirmative claim on Arab and Islamic identity, one that holds out hope for peaceful development and rising living standards instead of an endless and unwinnable jihad against America and the West.

Third, we must redouble our efforts to move Arab-Israeli politics back toward negotiation and compromise. This must not be done, though, as a "palliative" to the Arab world, as one Bush administration official framed it. Settling the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is an end in itself, not merely the means of inducing Arab and Muslim states to join the anti-terror coalition.

Our position must continue to be one of firm commitment to Israel's security, present and future. This does not mean, though, uncritical acceptance of everything the Sharon government does and says. The key break in the cycle of violence must come from the Palestinian side. A renewed U.S. dialogue with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat makes sense only if he is fully and unequivocally committed, in deed as well as word, to ending the intifada and resuming talks aimed at a settlement that creates an independent and viable Palestinian state while ensuring Israel's security.

There is of course much more to a U.S. anti-terrorism strategy than the Middle East, but it is an essential piece of the puzzle. It can no longer be regarded as a far-off arena of conflict in which we must protect our interests and allies. Our own safety and security here at home now depend on bringing peace and stability to this strife-torn region. ●

Bruce W. Jentleson is director of the Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy at Duke University. He served on the State Department policy planning staff in the Clinton administration and as a senior outside foreign policy adviser to Vice President Al Gore.

A New Mission for NATO

Maintaining European peace and security means operating beyond the alliance's borders.

by **Ronald Asmus, Antony Blinken, and Jeremy Rosner**

The new war against terrorism has focused America's attention on the value of an old alliance — the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). At the same time, the war raises fresh questions about NATO's future role and the degree of its members' collective will.

Just 24 hours after the Sept. 11 attacks on America, NATO allies offered to invoke their mutual defense clause for the first time in the alliance's 52-year history. That clause, Article 5 of the 1949 Washington Treaty, says that "an armed attack against one ... shall be considered an attack against ... all" and that each member will assist the country under attack with "such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force." Other treaty articles commit members to assist each other more broadly to bolster their collective defense — a pledge that potentially extends to key areas such as intelligence sharing or action against terrorist groups' finances.

> "NATO is becoming a **two-way street** in which America and Europe help **defend** each other."

NATO's Sept. 12 declaration was significant in several respects. It added immediate weight to President Bush's declaration of war against terrorism, defined the core of a growing political coalition, and underscored that terrorists had assaulted not only American cities but also a set of shared values. More important, it showed that NATO is becoming a two-way street in which America and Europe help defend each other.

NATO's action may have puzzled some Americans. How is NATO, that Cold War bulwark against Soviet expansion, relevant to terrorism? Even NATO's founders would never have guessed that Article 5 would be invoked for the first time in response to an attack that originated east of the Urals, targeted the United States rather than Europe, and was launched by terrorists rather than a state.

NATO was created to ensure Europe's security — as it was once said, to keep the Russians out, the Americans in,

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and the Germans down. But its reorientation toward terrorism and other new missions and threats has been under way for nearly a decade. The evolution began in the final years of the first Bush administration. It accelerated under President Bill Clinton, who made NATO's adaptation to the post-Cold War era both a top foreign policy priority and a signature New Democrat initiative.

Clinton believed that the United States and its allies had a unique opportunity to help create a peaceful, democratic, unified Europe for the first time in history. He launched the NATO enlargement process as part of a broader strategy to achieve that goal. But he also believed that NATO's mission had to evolve as well. He wanted the alliance to build a cooperative relationship with Russia and to reorient itself to new threats even as it maintained its core mission of collective defense. To Clinton, NATO enlargement was both the means to overcome Europe's Cold War divide and the beginning of a broader U.S.-European partnership against ethnic conflict, terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and other new threats.

> "Our **allies** must first be willing to use NATO to strengthen our common defenses against this **new challenge**, with tactics that include spending **more money** on their own militaries."

This process culminated at the alliance's 50th anniversary summit in Washington in the spring of 1999. Three new members — Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary — took their seats at NATO's table. The alliance issued a sweeping new strategic concept that identified terrorism as a new threat the alliance must be willing to confront in the future. And NATO launched several initiatives to retool its conventional forces and enhance its efforts against terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and other new threats. While some conservatives criticized Clinton's policy at the time, the events of Sept. 11 have underscored that his vision was correct.

The new war on terrorism raises a series of questions about NATO's future role and relevance.

1. Will NATO follow through with its rhetoric and recognize terrorism as a threat that requires a united response? Although the Sept. 12 declaration suggests it will, some European officials have grumbled to reporters that NATO invoked Article 5 too quickly. They suggest that counterterrorism is a job for the police, not the military, and note that at the 1999 summit European allies resisted U.S. efforts to explicitly name counterterrorism as a NATO mission.

This is dangerous talk. To be sure, part of the war against terrorism — such as combating money laundering and ensuring police cooperation — will take place outside of NATO. But there is a clear military component to the war against terrorism. Failure by NATO or its members to back a collective response to terror would empty Article 5 of much of its meaning and call NATO's value into question.

Thankfully, these backtracking Europeans are a minority. European support for the United States, both within and outside of NATO, has been extraordinary. In particular, the bold leadership of British Prime Minister Tony Blair and the willingness of German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder to shoulder new military responsibilities can breathe new life into NATO's European element. And their leadership raises the possibility of revitalizing the transatlantic relationship in a way that goes beyond terrorism. But for that revitalization to occur, our allies must first be willing to use NATO to strengthen our common defenses against this new challenge, with tactics that include spending more money on their own militaries.

2. Will NATO adapt its anti-terrorism capabilities or create new ones that can be used later in this prolonged struggle? NATO brings important strengths to the war against terrorism: interoperability of forces, joint training, and compatible communications and logistics. At the same time, terrorism has not been a top NATO priority nor has it received much high-level political attention. Making it one will require political will and money. The alliance urgently needs to identify its vulnerabilities and quickly bring new capabilities on-line.

NATO is a flexible alliance; it is not necessary for each ally to contribute to the war on terrorism in the same way. There is a wide range of potential contributions: lending political support, providing special forces units to work

American Casualties of International Terrorist Attacks, 1991-2001

Date	Number of people killed	Number of people wounded
1991	7	16
1992	2	1
1993	7	1,004
1994	6	5
1995	10	60
1996	25	510
1997	6	21
1998	12	11
1999	5	6
2000	19	43
2001	**5050***	**6300** (est.)

* indicates dead, missing, or presumed dead

Sources: U.S. State Department, *The Washington Post*.

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with ours, joining "coalitions of the willing" on the ground, granting access to military facilities and overflight privileges, sharing intelligence, or cracking down on terrorist safe houses and financial activity. NATO could not exist without this flexibility.

Spurred on by the invocation of Article 5, NATO and individual NATO members already have agreed to make these very contributions. NATO also has sent airborne early warning aircraft (AWACS) from Europe to the United States to replace American aircraft being transferred to Asia. And NATO deployed its standing naval forces to the eastern Mediterranean. Now — especially given that terrorists blur the line between the criminal and combatant — NATO also needs to do more to coordinate with civilian security agencies, especially in sharing intelligence, and to increase security at its own military facilities.

3. How will NATO define future missions and priorities in the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks? Enlargement was expected to be the main topic at the NATO summit in Prague next year. That agenda undoubtedly will be revisited. The alliance's enlargement remains critical to achieving the goal of a unified Europe allied with the United States. We have a unique opportunity to lock in democracy and peace in Europe so that we can refocus our resources on new challenges elsewhere. And the dramatic comments in early October by Russian President Vladimir Putin, showing greater acceptance of NATO and its enlargement, now make it even more likely enlargement will move ahead. Yet at Prague, NATO must also find the right balance of new members and missions.

Alliance members agree that it makes no sense for NATO to intervene in far-flung conflicts, such as those in East Timor or Sierra Leone, which have only limited implications for the transatlantic area. But they also accept the propriety of NATO missions such as those in the Balkans — which lie within Europe but beyond the alliance's borders. The question now is how to respond to threats to the collective interest that arise from beyond the transatlantic area.

The events of Sept. 11 demonstrated that dire threats to the area's peace and security can originate from anywhere in the world. NATO's original raison d'etre was collective self-defense in the event of an attack on a member's territory. That is the situation the United States is in today. The consensus that NATO can act "out of area" only within Europe must be revisited.

Nothing in NATO's charter bars collective action against a threat from afar. Moreover, members retain the sovereign right to work outside the treaty to jointly protect their security. It is entirely consistent with the alliance's founding purpose for NATO to work outside of the transatlantic area to protect its members and their core security interests.

That's not to say that NATO should coordinate every military action by any of its members anywhere in the world.

Chronology of TERRORISM

▶▶ August 7 *Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania*

Truck bomb explosions at two U.S. Embassies kill 301 (12 Americans) and injure more than 5,000 (89 Americans). In May 2001 a U.S. federal court convicted four members of bin Laden's terrorist organization of conspiracy to commit murder in the attacks. Thirteen others, including bin Laden, remain at large.

Nor should NATO abandon the transatlantic area as its main theater of operations. No one is suggesting that the alliance should simply re-target from the Fulda Gap to the Khyber Pass. Rather, our European allies need to continue revamping their militaries, for example by enhancing their airlift capabilities, so that they can contribute fully when more distant threats arise.

The United States, as the alliance's leader, needs to ensure that NATO continues on its path of transformation, which has made the alliance one of the pivotal institutions of the post-Cold War world. In the coming months, the Bush administration needs to work with our allies to ensure that NATO fulfills its Sept. 12 pledge, adopts an explicit program to confront the terrorist threat, and readies itself to defend its members against attack, regardless of the sources of those attacks. If it leads this effort, the administration should and will have the support of both Republicans and Democrats. ●

Ronald Asmus served as deputy assistant secretary of state for European affairs during the Clinton administration. **Antony Blinken** served as senior director for European affairs on the staff of the National Security Council. **Jeremy Rosner** served as special adviser to the president and secretary of state for NATO enlargement ratification.

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No More Free Passes

It's high time for Arab leaders to declare terrorism beyond the pale.

by **Dennis Ross**

The new war against terrorism needs to begin with truth-telling. And the truth is that while terrorism is a global problem, it is a scourge in the Middle East because it is too often treated there as a legitimate act. Palestinian suicide bombers who target Israelis have been portrayed as martyrs, not monsters. Killing non-combatants has been glorified, not rejected. Recruiting kids for human destruction has been celebrated, not condemned.

There can be no victory over terror if it continues to be justified in one part of the world. It is time for Arab leaders to make it clear that peace is legitimate and terror is not; that suicide bombing is not a reflection of Islam but its perversion; that the Palestinian cause is undermined, not promoted, by terror; that Arab interests and everything they value are threatened, not advanced, by terror.

It is good that Arab leaders condemned the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. But such condemnations will mean little in practice if there is no change in day-to-day behaviors that convey a tolerance for terror.

For the past year, nearly every Friday sermon broadcast by the Palestinian Authority has glorified suicide bombers or called for jihad against Israel and the United States. An editorial in the Sept. 11 edition of *al-Hayat al-Jadida*, a leading Palestinian newspaper, stated that suicide bombers in Israel were in the "noble tradition" of those who bombed the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut in 1983. This attitude is not unique to Palestine. A few days before the Sept. 11 attacks, an Egyptian journalist described in one of that nation's mainstream newspapers how the Aug. 9 suicide bombing of a Jerusalem pizza parlor filled him with pride.

That is not to say that Arab leaders should prevent a free press. (Indeed, I would like to see a free press flourish in the area.) Nor is that to say that Palestinians specifically or Arabs generally must give up their causes or grievances. (I continue to believe that the Palestinians have legitimate aspirations that must be addressed.) However, we are long past the point where Middle Eastern leaders can continue to use their media as safety valves that release anger and appease extremists. They must discredit extremist sentiments, not acquiesce in them. They must condemn all efforts to legitimize terror.

In short, it is time for Arab leaders to level with their publics and make it clear they will not tolerate terror. Absent that, those leaders should not expect us to intervene decisively on the matter of Arab-Israeli peace. While the United States has a responsibility to promote peace, we stand no chance of succeeding in an environment in which terror is considered a legitimate part of the struggle. If we are prepared to do our part, Middle Eastern leaders must also be prepared to do theirs.

For Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, repudiating terror is the sine qua non for having a relationship with the United States. He declared a ceasefire with Israel in the wake of Sept. 11 because he understands the consequences of being seen on the side of Osama bin Laden. He also understands the consequence of Hamas or Islamic Jihad suicide bombings in Israel now in terms of possible Israeli and American responses. But Arafat's words cannot be taken at face value. What matters now is his behavior. Commitments must not only be made, but fulfilled. He must take down the banners in Palestinian schools that treat suicide bombers as heroes. He must arrest those who plan or promote terror. The Palestinian Authority can no longer be a safe haven for those who would kill Israeli civilians.

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Some question whether Arafat has the power to do this. To them, I say: Every time he has cracked down, he has succeeded. True, the environment is more difficult for him today. But he has contributed to that environment and he has a responsibility to change it.

> "We are long **past the point** where Middle Eastern leaders can continue to use their media as **safety valves** that release anger and appease **extremists**."

If Arafat cracks down on terror, it will be important for the United States to develop a credible negotiating process to address Palestinian grievances and needs. Israel must understand that there is no military solution to this problem. No amount of force will extinguish Palestinian aspirations. By the same token, the Palestinians must understand that violence will not work. And no one should underestimate how destructive the past year's events have been on the ability to pursue peace.

We are not in the position we were at the end of the Clinton administration; we cannot pick up the peace negotiations where they left off. Arafat could not say yes to the Clinton ideas — ideas that would have produced an independent state in nearly all of the West Bank and an enlarged Gaza; a capital for that state in the Arab neighborhoods of

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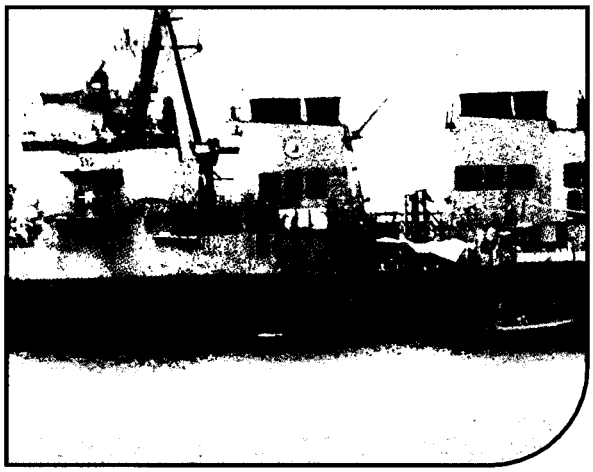
Aden, Yemen **October 12** ◄◄ 2000

Chronology of TERRORISM

A boat carrying explosives rams the USS Cole, killing 17 U.S. sailors and injuring 39 others. Eight supporters of bin Laden have been arrested in Yemen.



East Jerusalem; security arrangements that included an international presence in the Jordan Valley six years into the implementation period; and an unlimited right of return for Palestinians to their state, not to Israel.

Arafat's inability to accept the Clinton ideas, and the renewed Palestinian violence that followed, convinced Israelis that he was neither interested in nor capable of making peace. The Palestinians, meanwhile, were never told by their leaders what was offered and not accepted. They were constantly told that the Israelis were resisting their obligations on peace. They concluded that after seven and a half years, the Oslo peace process was cementing rather than ending Israeli control of their lives. And although they initiated the intifada, they saw the Israeli response as somehow treating them as subhuman.

It is an illusion to think that the tough issues of Jerusalem, refugees, and borders can be resolved in an environment in which both sides have lost faith in the process. The objectives at this stage must be more limited. Re-establishing faith in peaceful coexistence must be the first priority. And to do that, we need to refocus on the fundamental premise of peacemaking: the Israelis get security, and the Palestinians get an end to Israeli control of their lives. Both sides must see this premise being fulfilled with actions, not words. Both sides must reaffirm it with every step they take. Faith in peacemaking cannot be restored overnight. But if the Israelis begin to feel secure, and the Palestinians begin to feel freer, peacemaking will again become possible.

For the United States, Israel, and the Palestinians, the starting point in fighting terror and promoting peace is telling the truth — making it clear that terror is a threat and will not be tolerated; acknowledging that the Israelis and Palestinians alike have real grievances that must be alleviated; and telling publics that there is no alternative to negotiation and hard compromises. And for the United States in particular, it means telling the truth about who is living up to their commitments and who is not. ◆

> **Dennis Ross** served as President Clinton's envoy to the Middle East. He is a distinguished fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

Terrorism's Underground Cash Pipeline

Informal money exchange networks called hawalas need stricter scrutiny.

by **Sen. Evan Bayh**

In this new war against terrorism, one of the most critical battles will take place not in a foreign land, but in the financial world, as we seek to paralyze terrorist activities by cutting off the financial head of groups like al-Qaida. To that end, a number of bills introduced in Congress since Sept. 11 are calling for stricter record-keeping on foreign account holders; closer monitoring of correspondent accounts, which allow foreign banks to directly use U.S. banks' services, such as wire transfers and check clearing; and giving the U.S. Treasury greater powers to target potential money-laundering threats in foreign countries.

One way that terrorists covertly move funds around the world is through hawalas — ancient, unregulated, and little-known systems of exchanging money. Though most Americans may never have heard of hawalas, these systems almost certainly helped al-Qaida terrorists finance their attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

A hawala (from the Arabic word for "a bill of exchange or promissory note") is a system of brokers that provides paperless banking transactions and enables individuals to transfer large sums of cash from one country to another without the funds ever crossing borders or being recorded. The hawala system predates conventional banking by thousands of years and is prevalent in India, Pakistan, the Middle East, and parts of Asia.

Here's how a hawala might work: In Afghanistan, or any South Asian nation, a man finds a hawala dar (a broker

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who has inherited the job from his family through several generations) and gives him a certain amount of money to be transferred to a relative, friend, or cohort in America. The broker then contacts by phone, fax, or e-mail a fellow dar who is set up — usually in association with a legitimate business — in an American city. He then asks that broker to pass on an equivalent sum of money to the intended recipient. Thousands of dollars can be moved in a matter of minutes, with no questions asked and no record of any kind.

The two brokers even their balance over time, usually through a reverse transaction (when someone in the United States wants to send money to a counterpart in the same city in Afghanistan, for example). However, because the system is based on a long-standing trust among hawala dars, there is no need to balance accounts at the end of each day, or even at the end of each month, as with conventional banking. This makes transactions even more difficult to track.

While much of the money that flows through the hawala system in the United States is used for legitimate purposes — a son sending money home to his parents, for example — hawalas also allow terrorists and drug dealers to smuggle money into the country, undetected by the global banking system. The State Department has long been aware of the challenges posed by hawalas and reported on them in its annual International Narcotics Control Strategy Report. Congress, too, has recognized the danger of hawalas and moved to regulate their activities in 1994, when it passed a law requiring check-cashing businesses and informal financial enterprises like hawalas to register with the government and report transactions greater than $3,000. Unfortunately, the regulations implementing this statute remain unpublished, while hawalas continue to operate in the United States without supervision.

Now Congress is moving toward further regulation and oversight of hawalas, including passage of my legislation requiring hawalas to register with the U.S. government. The recently proposed bills on record-keeping and account-

> "**Thousands** of dollars can be **moved** in a matter of minutes, with **no questions asked** and no record of any kind."

monitoring, for example, would expedite the publication and enforcement of hawala regulations and give U.S. law enforcement and intelligence authorities the tools they need to intercept terrorist financing before it is too late. Targeting the financial network of terror groups like al-Qaida will not, by itself, strike a deathblow to international terrorism. But it will disrupt the criminal financial network supporting terrorism, and it will give U.S. law enforcement and intelligence communities a better chance of detecting and preventing terrorist activities.

We must also aggressively seek out every angle that terrorists use to finance their operations. We must demand that foreign financial institutions stop doing business with terrorists. We must stop American companies from doing business with Osama bin Laden. We must make sure that every cent of U.S. aid is going to the people who need it the most in developing countries — not to terrorist groups for training and arms.

If hawala brokers in the United States are prepared to do their part by registering and dutifully reporting money transfers over a certain dollar amount to appropriate authorities, it is possible that the hawala system need not be banned in America. However, if hawalas try to move underground and continue to facilitate terror in this country and elsewhere, we will be forced to root them out and to ask our allies to do the same.

The war against terrorism demands that we strengthen our resolve, sharpen our skills, and redouble our efforts. Terrorists should no longer be able to move money through America to finance their heinous acts, and we can no longer afford them any breathing room to do so. ◆

Sen. Evan Bayh (D-Ind.) is chair of the Democratic Leadership Council. He also serves on the Senate Banking Housing and Urban Affairs Committee, on which he is chairman of the subcommittee on International Trade and Finance.

Chronology of TERRORISM

▶▶ September 11 *New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania*

Terrorists linked to bin Laden hijack four U.S. passenger jets, crash two into the World Trade Center and a third into the Pentagon (the fourth, thought to be on its way to Washington, crashed near Pittsburgh). Thousands were killed and injured in the bloodiest day ever on U.S. soil.

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Rooting Out Blood Money

America needs to attack and destroy terrorism's financial lifelines.

by **Sen. John F. Kerry**

There can be no war on terrorism without declaring a war on money laundering. Only Osama bin Laden's vast resources allow him and al-Qaida to pay the living expenses of sleeper terrorists for years on end and move them around the world. This global terrorist network has a financial ledger that more closely mirrors that of a Fortune 500 multinational corporation than that of an isolated fanatic.

To defeat this new kind of terrorist, we must cut off the money that supports him. The United States must lead an aggressive effort at home and around the world to eliminate the ways in which dirty money flows through the banking system to finance new criminal enterprises.

We already know — and in fact knew months and even years ago — much about Osama bin Laden's vast financial network and the ways he moves money globally to finance terror. With the exception of a secret underground system — known as hawala — that allows enormous amounts of cash to be moved without any paper trail, most of al-Qaida's operation can be traced. With the help of the Taliban in Afghanistan, the al-Qaida receives funding through the sale of opium. It has stolen or diverted money intended to assist refugees or religious organizations. It has raised money from wealthy Islamic donors. Osama bin Laden himself not only has a substantial personal fortune but also reportedly either owns or controls a vast number of businesses and investments in Saudi Arabia and around the world. Al-Qaida has for years moved illicit funds to its vast network by taking advantage of the lack of transparency and accountability in the international banking system.

Up until October 2001, we did more damage to bin Laden and his terrorist enterprise by destroying his money laundering efforts than we did by firing missiles at tents in the desert. A 1991 investigation into global drug trafficking lead the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Terrorism, Narcotics and International Operations to the Bank of Credit and Commerce International, ground zero in the world of money laundering. BCCI had opened its doors to arms dealers, terrorists, rogue groups attempting to buy weapons of mass destruction and to capital cities such as Riyadh and Islamabad, which used the bank to finance and further covert activities with impunity. When the investigation helped to force the 1991 collapse of the BCCI, it also placed enormous financial strain on Osama bin Laden's terrorist network by depriving it of its main source of funding — though we did not know it at the time. It has since been revealed that in 1992 bin Laden told members of his terrorist cell, "There is no money." In fact, by 1993 the Egyptian intelligence service was dogging bin Laden's illegal financial networks with vigor; it was beginning to make arrests, track checks and harass distribution channels. But since money laundering knows no borders, illegal money finds its way to places where there is no oversight or accountability. By 1993, under the auspices of humanitarian charities, bin Laden allegedly had set up another financial network in the Balkans and had found the needed venture capital to fund his terrorist activities.

We must face the reality that money laundering is the financial foundation of modern, global terrorism. Unfortunately, our efforts to stop it have been neither global nor modern. The global volume of laundered money is estimated to be from 2 percent to 5 percent of global gross domestic product, between $600 billion and $1.5 trillion. We need to root out all of it if we are ever to root out terrorism.

> "Up until October 2001, we did more **damage** to bin Laden and his terrorist **enterprise** by destroying his money laundering efforts than we did by firing missiles at **tents in the desert**."

Let's be clear in drawing the battle lines. Many nations provide excessive bank secrecy, anonymous company incorporation, economic citizenship — in so doing, they harbor terrorists' money, and might as well be harboring terrorists. We need to insist on a series of actions, both domestically and internationally. That means first ensuring that our own laws are worthy of the challenge. The Bush administration was right to freeze the financial assets of 27 entities associated with terrorism.

But there is much more that we need to do. We must lift the veil of secrecy around tax havens by threatening to limit their access to our financial systems. The Bush administration should call an emergency meeting of the G-7 nations and the Financial Action Task Force to implement a more vigorous international strategy to cut off the money that these international criminal networks use. The United States should immediately pursue bilateral and multilateral sanctions against any country that has, through neglect or design, permitted its financial systems to be used by bin

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Laden or other terrorist groups. Congress should pass the International Counter-Money Laundering and Foreign Anticorruption Act of 2001 to give the secretary of the treasury the tools necessary to crack down on international money laundering havens and to protect the integrity of the U.S. financial system. It should focus on international transactions involving criminal proceeds, while allowing legitimate international commerce to continue to flow unimpeded.

It's time we make an absolute commitment to deny terrorists their ability to organize their hatred on a global basis. It's time to cut off the blood money once and for all, thereby destroying the foundation of a terrorist empire. ◆

> **Sen. John F. Kerry** (D-Mass.) is the author of a book on global terrorism, *The New War* (Simon & Schuster 1997), and is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Thinking About the Unthinkable

How Baltimore got a firsthand lesson in the value of disaster preparedness.

by **Kate Herman**

When a group of Baltimore firefighters spent a day performing rigorous fire simulation training through Johns Hopkins University this summer, Mayor Martin O'Malley never imagined those techniques would be put to immediate use in his city.

But a month later, after a train loaded with hazardous materials caught fire in a Baltimore tunnel and noxious smoke began pouring out close to Camden Yards baseball stadium and the downtown business district, O'Malley was among the first to sing the praises of rigorous disaster training. With the heart of his city effectively shut down, the mayor relied on the firefighters' expertise and the city's emergency plans to get through the crisis.

Now, O'Malley is a devout believer in emergency preparedness and is at the forefront of municipal efforts to put solid disaster plans in place. Since Sept. 11, Baltimore has streamlined its emergency services and continues to implement new anti-terrorism programs. Meanwhile, in the midst of scattered reports of anthrax incidents nationwide, O'Malley has moderated a series of municipal-safety teleconferences with the U.S. Conference of Mayors. The sessions give mayors practical suggestions for immediate safety improvements, which, O'Malley says, are fairly basic.

"A lot of being prepared is about having backups in place," O'Malley says. "Look at the trains that go through our city, look at the chemical plants, the open spaces — you could drive yourself crazy looking out for an attack, so the best thing you can do is be prepared."

For example, using basic checklists or charts to coordinate a central database where hospitals and EMS units can report symptoms is one easy way to track the recurrence and accumulation of similar symptoms — a possible early warning sign of a biological attack. Monitoring animal deaths, double-checking local antibiotic supplies, continually testing water sources, and creating a secondary operations center outside the city core are other basic steps any municipality can take, O'Malley noted.

More than 250 mayoral offices from around the country tuned in on Oct. 2 to the first mayors' teleconference with O'Malley. He was joined by Dr. Tara O'Toole of the Center for Civilian Biodefense at Johns Hopkins University.

Even as mail-borne anthrax attacks spread around the United States, O'Toole noted that most municipalities lack the technology to immediately and properly diagnose most illnesses related to biowarfare — including not only anthrax but also smallpox and the plague. O'Toole estimates a quicker diagnostic system implemented at local levels nationwide would cost the government around $200 million.

But with many biological weapons initially causing flu-like symptoms in victims, public health officials could use methodology modeled on the National Flu Surveillance Network — a database shared by more than 6,000 physicians in offices and clinical laboratories nationwide. The database, which was developed and is maintained by ZymeTx, Inc., of Oklahoma City, monitors the stream of diagnoses entered daily by participating physicians, allowing medical experts to track outbreaks of the flu. Further, the company has developed a test that can diagnose influenza — or rule it out — within 20 minutes, using a quick throat swab. Used together, the system could prove invaluable in the event of a biological attack, says Dr. Robert J. Hudson, the network's managing director.

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"If incidents of flu-like symptoms increase greatly, but flu diagnoses do not, we will know for sure that something else is at work out there," says Hudson, who has spoken with members of Congress about using his system to help with anthrax tracking rather than taking more than a year to design and build a new system. He estimates his system could be linked to public health departments nationwide within 60 to 90 days.

"We could be the front end of the surveillance piece," Hudson says. He points out that the Centers for Disease

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Eastern United States **October ◄◄**

Chronology of TERRORISM

Anthrax-tainted letters kill four, sicken at least 17 others in Florida, New York, Washington, and New Jersey. They also force the temporary closing of the U.S. House and congressional office buildings.

Control — which has tested many of the substances proven to be anthrax since Sept. 11 — builds its own database of viral characteristics for future vaccines but does not monitor actual incidences through its own direct diagnoses. "We've already started by encouraging our sites to say on their tally sheet every day how many patients contacted them with flu-like symptoms."

Hudson noted that being in the flu season — October through April — makes it tougher for health professionals to distinguish the flu from possible anthrax exposure. That is why it is all the more important for local leaders to encourage cooperation and vigilance among hospitals, clinics, and EMS units, he says.

Meanwhile, municipal officials need guidance on how to deal directly with a nervous citizenry. O'Toole says they can and should caution citizens against overreaction, particularly noting the impracticality of buying gas masks. "You can't go through life with a mask on your face, and chances are we won't have a nice warning," she says.

Mayors should also remind constituents and health-care providers that antibiotics should be prescribed and distributed sparingly, leaving a supply for people with any number of ailments not related to a terrorist attack.

In the face of such uncertainties, O'Malley stresses the importance of preparation. He says he and other elected officials are working to better understand the role of local leaders in the event of a catastrophe like Sept. 11. Together, they are working on a list of concerns to present to Congress, already considering allocating as much as $1.8 billion to fight bioterrorism in the next fiscal year.

"We're putting together an agenda for America's mayors so they can be prepared against trains or planes or bombs or bullets or bugs or whatever else," O'Malley says. "I think people are realizing now more than ever just how much has to happen at the local level, and we will be ready." ◆

> **Kate Herman** is associate editor of BLUEPRINT.

A Tip Sheet For MAYORS

Helping Hospitals Prepare for Biological Attack

Every hospital in the nation must have an emergency management plan in place to be certified, according to Dr. Tara O'Toole. A simple, effective hospital emergency plan should incorporate these four basic steps:

- ✓ Be sure new employees become familiar with the emergency plan immediately.
- ✓ When an emergency arises, inform the entire staff immediately — preferably through an established chain of delivery.
- ✓ To the extent possible, quarantine the illness to protect staff and other patients.
- ✓ Communicate with others outside the hospital, including research facilities and city officials, to maximize available resources.

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Fighting terror with trade

Smart economic policies can bring peace and prosperity to the Middle East.

by **Ed Gresser**

Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, in describing the campaign against terrorism, spoke aptly of the need to "drain the swamp" — destroying terrorist groups of global reach and reducing the chance that new ones will emerge. But draining the swamp should be complemented by another stabilizing element: a trade initiative that would encourage dramatic economic reform in the Middle East.* Some leftist thinkers have speculated that anti-Americanism in the Middle East has its roots in popular resentment of globalization. But the facts are the reverse. Economic discontent may help terrorist groups recruit their foot soldiers, but the source of such resentment lies not in globalization but in its *absence.*

Since 1980, many regions once torn by warfare — Southeast Asia, Central and South America — have succeeded in stabilizing regional politics by opening their economies to trade and foreign investment. Middle Eastern governments, by contrast, have not. This policy failure has left the region with high trade barriers, investment restrictions, economic fragmentation, and policy isolation.

> "Economic discontent may help terrorist groups recruit their foot soldiers, but the source of such resentment lies not in globalization but in its absence."

Trade barriers. Most Middle Eastern countries maintain trade barriers that are among the highest in the world. Egypt, for example, imposes a 54 percent tariff on clothes; Syria bans imports of processed foods, puts a 250 percent tariff on cars, and requires a license for imports of anything at all.

Investment restrictions. Restrictions on foreign investment in most Middle Eastern countries slow the growth of the manufacturing industry. Thus, 80 percent of the region's export revenue still comes from oil, subjecting economies to destructive boom-and-bust cycles as energy prices rise and fall.

Economic fragmentation. Many parts of the world have adopted trade integration programs such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, South America's Mercosur, the European Union, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Free Trade Area. Middle Eastern nations have done the opposite by imposing trade restrictions and sanctions on one another. The high trade barriers common throughout the Arab world block routine intraregional trade. The Arab League's boycott of Israel, the region's natural source of technology and capital, further worsens the environment. Three major economies — Iran, Iraq, and Libya — have brought international sanctions on themselves through aggression and extremism.

Policy isolation. Finally, relatively few Middle Eastern nations participate in world trade policymaking. Eleven of the Arab League's 22 members, and Iran as well, remain outside the World Trade Organization (WTO). This means Middle Eastern export priorities receive little attention in global trade negotiations.

As a result, globalization has bypassed the Middle East, and the region may be more isolated from the world economy than at any time in its 5,000 years of recorded history. Since 1980, as the region's population has doubled, its share of world investment has fallen by half and its share of world trade by two-thirds. The consequences are obvious on street corners from Algiers to Cairo and Damascus. Crowds of unemployed young men sit around wondering why they have no jobs, why their families are poor, and who is to blame. In such an environment, the appeal of virulent nationalism and religious extremism naturally grows.

It is a bleak picture, but also one offering some cause for optimism. The region's violence and tension are not solely the result of ancient political or cultural conflicts. Rather, they have strong roots in identifiable, correctable, economic policy mistakes. Such mistakes can be fixed, and the experience of Jordan is a case in point.

Arguing that the Middle East "cannot afford to be left behind by a world that is rapidly moving towards economic integration and globalization," Jordan's King Abdullah II has overseen a rapid and comprehensive reform of his country's economic and trade regime. Since 1999, Jordan has sharply cut tariffs and other trade barriers, and it joined the WTO last year. It also launched an economic integration project with Israel, through which the United States gives duty-free treatment to clothes, jewelry, and other goods from joint Jordanian-Israeli factories. Most recently, Jordan

*Note: For purposes of this article, Middle East includes the Arab nations of North Africa.

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completed a full free trade agreement with the United States.

The results are striking. Jordan's exports to the United States have risen tenfold since 1998, creating 20,000 manufacturing jobs in three years. This is faster growth than in any country in the world except special cases like Yugoslavia and the Comoros Islands. It may be no coincidence that Jordan is one of the region's most peaceful nations and has one of its most open societies.

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Experience suggests that there is nothing unique about the Middle East. With the right policies, the region can expect the same results that Southeast Asia or Central America have seen since 1980 — job creation, economic stability, reduced social tensions. Middle Eastern governments must make the reforms themselves, of course, but American policy can help them in three ways.

First, we can encourage them to join the WTO. This will both reform their trade policies and help them succeed in export industries. The Clinton administration began this process, helping Jordan, Oman, Bahrain, and several other countries complete their accessions to the WTO. The Bush administration can follow the same strategy with larger economies such as Saudi Arabia, Algeria, and perhaps even Iran.

Second, we can promote reform and regional economic integration through trade preference programs. For example, countries that cooperate in the fight against terrorism and renounce boycotts of Israel could receive duty-free treatment and freedom from quotas for labor-intensive goods like textiles and apparel.

Finally, we could extend our existing free trade agreements with Israel and Jordan to other countries, if they are willing to make the necessary reforms. Tunisia, Turkey, and Egypt have all expressed interest in such a step.

This program would demand political commitment from the United States as well as Middle Eastern governments. But if the commitment is there, the program's reforms — export growth, new jobs, and economic progress — could be rapid and profoundly important for the region, and for the larger campaign against terrorism. ◆

Ed Gresser is director of the Project on Trade and Global Markets at the Progressive Policy Institute.

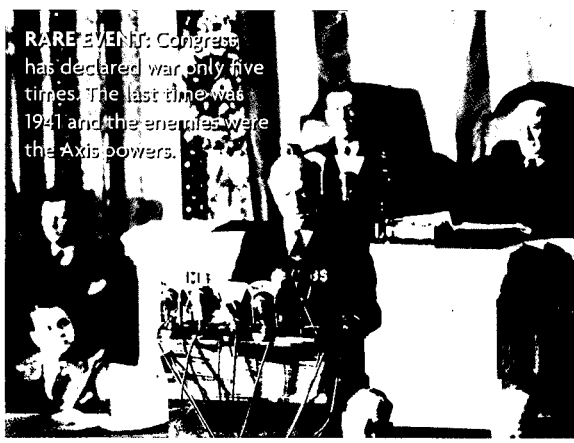
Congress and the war on terror

Bush needs to make Capitol Hill his partner in this conflict.

by **Steven J. Nider**

Congress and the White House have been wrangling for generations over control of the military during hostilities that fall short of all-out war. The Constitution gives Congress sole power to declare war, but it has done so only five times: the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Spanish-American War, and the two world wars. Meanwhile, presidents acting in their constitutional capacity of commander in chief have sent Americans into battle more than 100 times in the absence of a formal declaration of war.

We are in one of those situations again. On. Sept. 14, Congress overwhelmingly authorized President Bush to use "all necessary and appropriate force" against the nations, groups, and individuals responsible for the Sept. 11 attacks on America. But Bush has vowed to wage a much broader war against terrorism. For the President, the challenge is to sustain long-term congressional support for an entirely new kind of war against a shadowy, stateless enemy. President Bush would be wise to find ways to make Congress a partner and stakeholder in the planning and conduct of this war.



RARE EVENT: Congress has declared war only five times. The last time was 1941 and the enemies were the Axis powers.

Congress passed the War Powers Resolution of 1973, over President Nixon's veto, as a check on presidential war-making authority. Under it, whenever a president uses military force outside a declaration of war, he must immediately inform Congress. And if Congress fails to give its consent to the deployment, the president must withdraw the troops in 60 to 90 days. Since the law's enactment, every single president has argued that it unconstitutionally infringes on his authority as commander in chief, and all have defended their right to initiate military action on their own. Some experts question whether the law creates the best way of ensuring congressional participation in decisions about use of force. Proposals to amend or even repeal

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the War Powers Resolution have been floated over the years, but none has been enacted.

The coherence of U.S. policy during hostilities depends on Congress and the executive branch working together. Yet history shows that presidents often treat Congress as a hindrance rather than as a partner during such times. They tend to seek congressional input on foreign and national security issues only after crises erupt, rather than on an ongoing basis. If they sought input regularly, they could rely on greater congressional support when war clouds gather.

In the days and months ahead, Congress and the President will face difficult decisions that could affect the lives of millions of Americans. Both sides should work to improve policy consultation and coordination without unduly burdening the commander in chief's freedom of action.

A recent report by the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century, co-chaired by former Sens. Gary Hart and Warren Rudman, could point the way. The panel recommended the creation of a permanent congressional consultative group made up of leaders of both parties in the House and Senate and the chairmen and ranking minority members of the main committees involved in national security and foreign policy. The group would meet regularly with representatives of the executive branch and with the president on an emergency basis whenever he considers military action abroad or deals with a foreign policy crisis.

In such an environment, presidents would be more disposed to cooperate with Congress, and Congress would be less disposed to invoke the War Powers Resolution's timetables and notification requirements. Presidents would benefit from the experience of key congressional leaders. And lawmakers would get vital information at the most critical decision point: before troops are deployed. This would help them build wise policy and rally bipartisan support for difficult operations once forces have been deployed.

> "Conflict in the modern era may be rendering formal declarations of war obsolete. Still, the judgment of Congress must be more than an afterthought in foreign policy."

Finally, consultations would be a two-way street. A president upset by congressional leaks could curtail exchanges of information or even temporarily suspend the meetings. Similarly, a congressional panel that felt it was being stonewalled could muster formidable opposition to a president's military operation, perhaps enough to cut off its funding.

Conflict in the modern era may be rendering formal declarations of war obsolete. Still, the judgment of Congress must be more than an afterthought in foreign policy. America's founders wisely introduced checks and balances into the nation's design to keep any single branch of government from dominating the others. This healthy tension should be restored to, not removed from, the realm of national security and foreign policy. ◆

Steven J. Nider is director of foreign and security studies at the Progressive Policy Institute.

The loyal opposition during wartime

History shows that politics, like life, will go on.

by **Ed Kilgore**

One of the immediate effects of the attacks on America has been to dampen the partisan warfare that was about to break out in Congress on everything from the Patients' Bill of Rights to campaign finance reform. Confronted by a real enemy, both parties immediately put on the necessary face of public unity to move the nation onto a war footing.

But privately, many Democrats were agonizing about "lost issues," paralyzed fundraising, submerged 2002 election campaigns, and, above all, soaring approval ratings of a president whose very legitimacy was previously in question among some Democratic activists.

Have party politics been abolished for the foreseeable future? Is a "loyal opposition" — with both words emphasized — really possible during a popular, patriotic war?

The answers are no to the first and yes to the second. Anxious Democrats should look at the historical record. They'll see that management of wars, no matter how successful, rarely helps the party in power.

In addition, historical precedent suggests there's plenty of room for politics and political campaigns in wartime. The key is that if — and only if — the opposition party supports the White House's prosecution of a war, it can earn plenty of flexibility to take differing positions on domestic issues unrelated to the war.

The United States differs from many democracies by constitutionally mandating regular federal elections that occur no matter what. The United

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Kingdom did not hold a parliamentary election for the duration of World War II, while the United States held regular congressional elections in 1942 and 1944 and a presidential election in 1944. Vigorously contested partisan elections in wartime are a fundamental part of our political system.

Moreover, while countries with parliamentary systems often suspend party caucuses and national administrations in times of emergency (so-called "unity" or "war" governments), our system of separation of powers and of a winner-take-all executive branch virtually requires the continuation of party politics. (The one exception, the bipartisan "Union" electoral coalition that nominated Abraham Lincoln for re-election in 1864, was caused by the unique circumstance of a Democratic Party that was deeply divided on accepting or fighting secession and that had lost its Southern wing to the Confederate enemy).

The many faces of war. American wars have varied in terms of the breadth and depth of support from the public and political leaders. U.S. entry into the Spanish-American War, World War I, and the Persian Gulf War were all bitterly debated, but actual prosecution of these wars drew strong bipartisan support once the die was cast. U.S. entry into the Korean War, by contrast, was almost universally supported, but the conduct of the war quickly and enduringly became a subject for partisan controversy. The Vietnam War was the subject of political controversy from the very beginning and ultimately divided both parties and the public as well.

For all the differences in the nature and scope of the military action involved, World War II would at present appear to provide the best parallel to the current conflict. It began with an unprovoked attack on U.S territory; created near-universal support for a sustained military response; and generated continued bipartisan support for the president's conduct of the war (as appears to be likely in the current war).

During World War II, the opposition Republican Party's political strategy was clear and consistent, and may provide a model for Democrats today. Republicans strongly and unconditionally supported FDR's war effort (even when it appeared to be unsuccessful or potentially unpopular); they made clear distinctions between the president as commander-in-chief and as leader of the Democratic Party; wherever possible, they criticized the president's subordinates or supporters in Congress rather than the chief executive himself; and they focused their partisan agenda on domestic policy issues that either were remote from the conduct of the war or enabled them to claim their domestic "reform" efforts would also help the war effort.

By the end of the war, in concert with conservative Democrats, congressional Republicans had managed to dismantle much of the regulatory structure of FDR's New Deal. They also fared pretty well politically, making major gains in the congressional elections of 1942, when memories of Pearl Harbor were still fresh, and improving on their 1940 performance in the presidential election of 1944.

That seems to be a pattern. After Woodrow Wilson led America into World War I, Republicans gained in the congressional elections of 1918 and then won a landslide victory in 1920. After modest political gains during World War II, Republicans won a landslide victory in the off-year elections of 1946. Eisenhower settled the Korean War in 1952, and Democrats made big gains in the next congressional elections. And most recently, one year after George H.W. Bush directed Operation Desert Storm and gained one of the highest presidential approval ratings in recorded history, he went down to ignominious defeat in his re-election campaign of 1992. The pattern is pretty simple: winning a war often impels voters to desire a quick return to "normal" life, which is most easily expressed by a change in party control of government. Britain offers the most dramatic example of this tendency in the Labour Party's enormous landslide victory in 1945 over the Conservative Party of triumphant wartime leader Winston Churchill.

History offers at least one more important lesson about wartime politics: war can change the internal dynamics of political parties as well as the interparty competition. Woodrow Wilson's World War I leadership helped shatter the pre-war rural base of his Democratic Party. The need to support FDR in World War II tamed the strong isolationist tendencies of the Republican Party — tendencies that were then submerged for nearly a half-century by the Cold War. The Vietnam War helped produce the realignment of both political parties in the 1970s, with ethnic Catholics and white Southerners drifting towards the GOP and many upscale white Protestants heading the other way. The current conflict could have equally important effects, including, one might expect, the retaming of Republican neo-isolationism, a new sense of restraint in conservative anti-government sentiment, a truce in the "culture wars," and perhaps a split in the Democratic Party between the labor movement and the anti-war, anti-globalization left.

> "If — and only if — the opposition party supports the White House's prosecution of a war, it can earn plenty of flexibility to take differing positions on domestic issues unrelated to the war."

In any event, politics, like life, will surely go on during this war, as in all the others. That's one thing that won't change. ◆

> **Ed Kilgore** is policy director of the Democratic Leadership Council.

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Understanding the Islamic world

by **Fred Siegel** Soon after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, there were calls across the land for understanding. In true multicultural fashion, professors of Good Think insisted at hundreds of teach-ins that an America that bombs Iraq is in no position to judge the Taliban. Understanding in these circles translates into empathy for the motives of the terrorists. One can agree with the call for understanding, but of a rather different sort: one that is based on a knowledge of the history and culture of the people who have attacked us.

On the very day of the terror attacks, for instance, *The New York Times* reported that Muslim militants in Northern Nigeria were killing Christians. The violence occurred in the majority-Christian city of Jos, where the Nigerian government has imposed Islamic law, Sharia, on the largely Christian population. The violence was triggered when a Christian woman crossed the street in front of a group of Muslim men near a mosque. Three days of attacks on Christians and their churches followed.

Around the world Islamic militants are engaging in a holy war against the infidels. Their targets include Coptic Christians in Egypt, Dinkas in Sudan, Hindus in Kashmir, Bahais in Iran, Catholics in the Southern Philippines, and Christians in East Timor. In fact, wherever it is in power, radical Islam subjugates people it regards as infidels. In Sudan, for example, the Islamic militants impose slavery on captured Dinkas.

There is, additionally, compelling literature on Islamic culture and politics. It includes *Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising and the Arab World*, a powerful account of why Arab intellectuals support Saddam Hussein, by Iraqi dissident Kanan Makiya; *Conditions of Liberty: Civil Society and Its Rivals*, a comparison of Islam, Communism, and liberal democracy, by the late philosopher-anthropologist Ernest Gellner; and two books by Fouad Ajami, *The Arab Predicament: Arab Political Thought and Practice since 1967* and *Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey*. Ajami is particularly powerful on the plight of the Arab masses whose standard of living has been slumping for nearly 20 years.

But the books that spoke most directly to the horrible events of last September were by Princeton professor Bernard Lewis. Educated in England, Lewis is a historian of Islam who possesses both enormous erudition and an engaging writing style. He writes:

> *Islam is one of the world's great religions. Islam has brought comfort and peace of mind to countless millions of men and women. It has given dignity and meaning to drab and impoverished lives. It has taught people of different races to live in brotherhood and people of different creeds to live side by side in reasonable tolerance. It inspired a great civilization in which others besides Muslims lived creative and useful lives and which, by its achievement, enriched the whole world. But Islam, like other religions, has also known periods when it inspired in some of its followers a mood of hatred and violence.*

Lewis' 1992 collection of essays, *Islam and the West*, and his famous *Atlantic Monthly* essay, "The Roots of Muslim Rage," speak to the periods of hatred and violence and their connection with America. Lewis' approach is different from that of observers who in the first weeks after the terror attacks battled with dueling quotes from the Koran over whether Islam forbids or requires violence. Instead, Lewis views Islam as both a religion and a civilization; he approaches each historically. He notes that while the founder of Christianity was crucified and Christianity became an official faith only after two centuries of persecution, Islam began with Mohammed's triumphant conquests. Lewis explains that:

▶ Off the shelf

Islam and the West
by Bernard W. Lewis • Oxford University Press • 1994 • 240 pp. • $14.35

Conditions of Liberty: Civil Society and Its Rivals
by Ernest Gellner • Viking Penguin • 1996 • 225 pp. • $27.95

Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising, and the Arab World
by Kanan Makiya • W.W. Norton • 1994 • 368 pp. • $8.76

The Arab Predicament: Arab Political Thought and Practice Since 1967
by Fouad Ajami • Cambridge University Press • 1992 • 299 pp. • $13.45

The Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey
by Fouad Ajami • Vintage • 1999 • 368 pp. • $12.60

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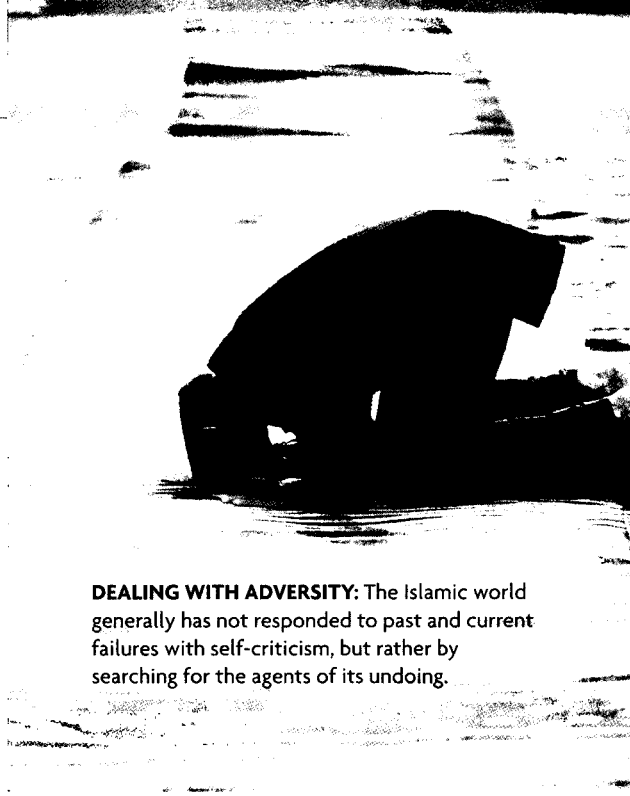
Muhammad, it will be recalled, was not only a prophet and a teacher … a ruler and a soldier. Hence his struggle involved a state and its armed forces. If the fighters in the war for Islam, the holy war "in the path of God," are fighting for God, it follows that their opponents are fighting against God. And since God is in principle the sovereign, the supreme head of the Islamic state — and the Prophet and, after the Prophet, the caliphs are his vice-regents — then God as sovereign commands the army. The army is God's army and the enemy is God's enemy. The duty of God's soldiers is to dispatch God's enemies as quickly as possible to the place where God will chastise them — that is to say, the afterlife.

During the first 1,000 years of the 1,400-year-old rivalry between Christianity and Islam, the Muslims moved from victory to victory. It was Christian Europe, threatened from the west by Moorish Spain and the east by Ottoman armies, that looked to be in danger of extinction. During its period of greatness, it was the Islamic world that was far more tolerant toward minorities and that confidently carried forward Greek science and Byzantine learning. But since 1683, when the Ottomans were defeated at the gates of Vienna for the second time, the West has been rising and the power of Islamic countries has been declining. For the last 300 years, Islamic nations have been unable to reconcile their unquestioned confidence in their moral and religious superiority with their galling military and economic inferiority. This gap, says Lewis, is at the root of Muslim rage against the West in general and at the United States in particular.

The first attempts at Islamic modernization were begun in the wake of that fateful defeat at Vienna. But aside from Turkey, which has modernized by imposing a secular political system, wave after wave of modernization attempts have failed over two centuries. In the 19th century Egypt attempted what might be described as liberal industrialization. That has been followed by Arab nationalism, fascist regimes (Iraq and Syria), clerical fascism (Iran), a mix of state capitalism and socialism (Egypt), and Arab socialism (Algeria and Yemen). All these movements have come to naught even as they left the Arab masses adrift and unhappy. The per capita income of Egypt today is the same as in 1950. Some 260 million people in the Islamic Near East and Africa, notes Ajami, export less in the way of manufactured goods than does Finland with a population of five million.



DEALING WITH ADVERSITY: The Islamic world generally has not responded to past and current failures with self-criticism, but rather by searching for the agents of its undoing.

With each misbegotten attempt at modernization, the argument has grown stronger that failure is God's punishment for straying from the pure path of Islam. The call for a return to purity has been heavily financed by Saudi oil money. The Saudi royal family are members of the Wahhabi sect, the Islamic counterpart to Christian Puritanism; Saudi Arabia has produced a disproportionate number of suicide bombers. Wahhabism preaches an austere version of Islam stripped of any hint of idolatry or liturgical display. It outlaws, for example, celebration of the Prophet's birthday just as Geneva under Calvin prohibited the celebration of Christmas. But the intolerant theocracy of Calvin's Geneva eventually gave way to a semi-secularized Reform tradition that served as the engine of capitalism and modernity. Likewise, it's possible that Islam's agonizing collision with the forces of change can ultimately lead to a new and progressive synthesis.

While raising important questions about the likelihood of such a development, Bernard Lewis notes that one might build on elements of traditional Islam to make democracy and development possible. "Islamic tradition," he writes, insists "that even the humblest subjects have personal dignity" and that rulers must avoid arrogance. It also strongly "disapproves of arbitrary rule" so that "the exercise of political power is conceived and presented as a contract, creating bonds of mutual obligation between the ruler and the ruled." Similarly, one of the sayings traditionally ascribed to the Prophet is the remark that "difference of opinion within my community is a sign of God's mercy." The question of whether these strands can be built on depends on how the Islamic world responds to past and current failures. Generally, the response to failure has not been to ask what went wrong with an eye towards self-criticism, but rather to ask, "Who did this to us? What conspiracy has brought us down?"

Our first great challenge is to curb terrorism, and, on that score, we can succeed. The even greater challenge is to understand the Islamic world well enough to help move it into a self-questioning mode while extending the hand of friendship that says you can be Muslim and modern; you too can be part of a rising economic tide. ◆

Fred Siegel is culture editor of BLUEPRINT.

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Making government work

As Democrats, we believe in activist government, that government can and should play a positive role in our national life. It is the agent of our collective will and our instrument for helping Americans help themselves and each other. But we're New Democrats because we understand that government today must be modernized constantly to deal with the fast changing circumstances of the Information Age. We believe as Franklin Roosevelt did that 'new conditions impose new requirements on government and those who conduct government.' That's why we must consistently modernize government."

Those words from the New Democrat Credo should guide Democrats during the war on terrorism.

As we face both new enemies abroad and a pending recession at home, Americans are more receptive to activist government than they've been in decades. In a *Washington Post* poll, taken in late September, 64 percent of Americans said they trusted federal government to do the right thing "just about always" or "most of the time." That's more than twice the percentage that expressed such faith six months earlier. It is the most trust Americans have had in their government in 35 years.

"Suddenly, the political language of a generation looks dated," wrote *The New York Times'* Robin Toner. "Nobody wants to get government off their backs. Nobody really wants to hear that the era of big government is over."

That's bad news for the Republicans. The cornerstone of the president's 2000 campaign was anti-government rhetoric. His pre-Sept. 11 political strategy of starving government to pay for his big tax cut is incompatible with prosecuting a war on terrorism, improving homeland security, rebuilding the devastation, restoring economic growth, and paying for the baby boom retirement.

This renewed public faith in government offers an opportunity for Democrats — one that New Democrat reformers should welcome. We advocate an activist national government that is non-bureaucratic and in tune with our times.

With that opportunity comes a word of caution. Americans are proud of the police, firefighters, and emergency workers who have performed so heroically. We're also proud of our political leadership, which has stood tall during this crisis.

But Democrats should not read the public's new aversion to anti-government rhetoric as an invitation to return to New Deal liberalism and a new era of big and bureaucratic government.

Americans lost faith in government not because they disapproved of its intentions, but because it failed to perform. We lost an unpopular war in Vietnam. Big public jobs programs and large-scale domestic spending did not produce non-inflationary economic growth; they resulted in stagflation, an unending cycle of recession and inflation. Welfare didn't end poverty and strengthen families; it did the opposite. It discouraged work and destroyed families, leaving generations of children mired in poverty. Feel-good liberalism sounded good, but it didn't deliver.

New Democrats offered practical reforms to restore government's ability to deliver. We promoted fiscal discipline as the foundation for economic growth and job creation. We favored a strong national defense, public investment in people and technology, welfare reform, community policing, charter schools, national service, and reinventing government. We didn't reform government because it was unpopular. We reformed it so that it would work again.

The Washington Post's Jim Hoagland has written that the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon should "give pause to the overly optimistic reformism of New Democrats in Washington and New Labour in London."

Hoagland could not be more wrong. Now, in a time of true national threat, it is critical that we accelerate those reforms.

To win the war on terrorism, we need a modern, agile military capable of fighting tomorrow's wars. We also need a state-of-the-art intelligence community able to prevent terrorist attacks before they happen. We cannot settle for intelligence and law enforcement agencies that lack the spies and translators they need, are technologically backward, and don't communicate with each other. To restore prosperity we need public investments that promote private sector growth. To make Americans feel secure again, we need governments at all levels to provide a homeland security system that inspires confidence.

More programs and more money will not suffice. This is not the time for a return to big, bureaucratic, ineffective, and inefficient government. The events of Sept. 11 and their aftermath reminded us of the vital role government plays in our society. But it also reminded us that we need a government that works. Indeed, making government work is now, clearly, a matter of life and death. We must couple activist government with aggressive reform. The New Democrat Credo is more valid than ever. ◆

Al From is founder and CEO of the Democratic Leadership Council.

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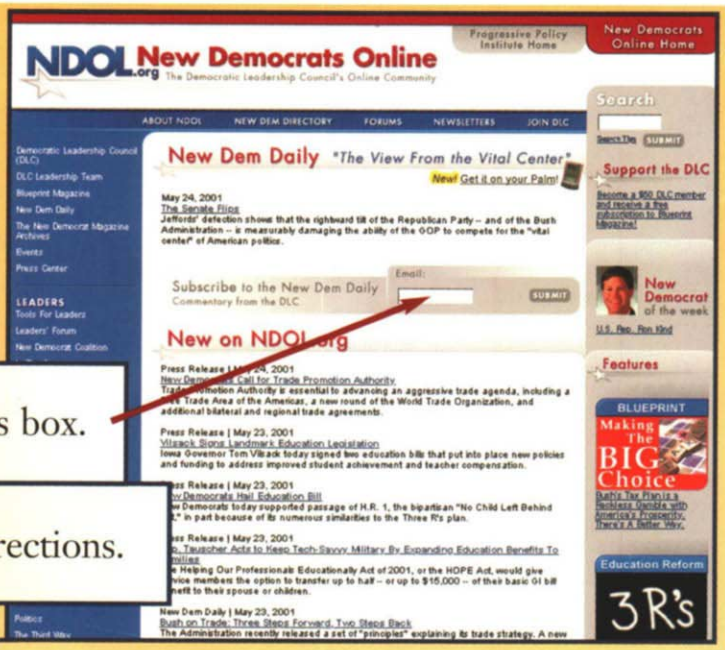

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